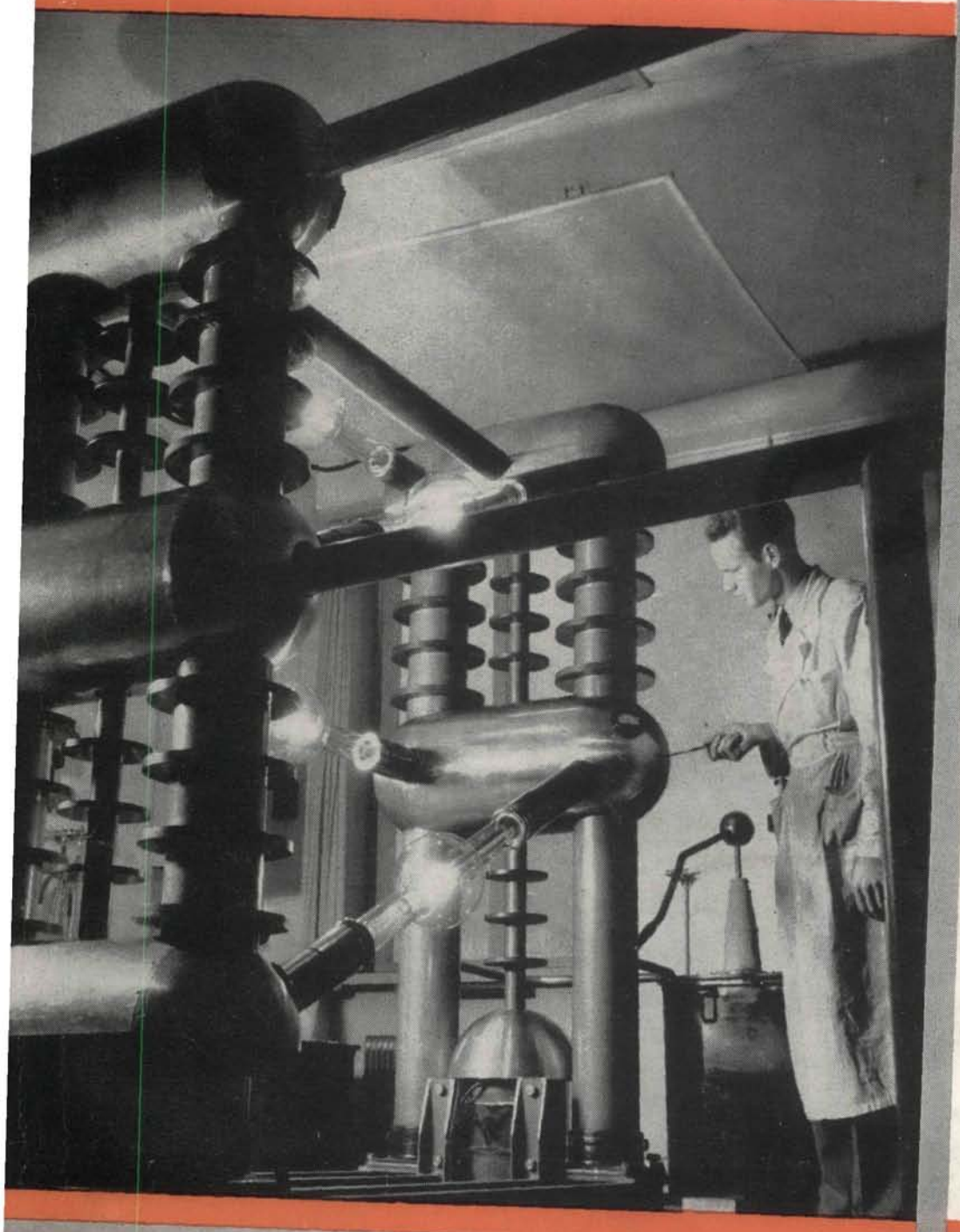
FREE WORLD

DECEMBER, 1945



ATOMIC RESEARCH IN SWEDEN . . . .
. . . AS EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD

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ALBEN W. BARKL

LEON BLUM

SENATOR
GLEN TAYLOR

EXCLUSIVE:
HITLER'S
LOVE LETTER

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IN TOKYO

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IN CANADA 50c 40

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The State of the World...

December 1945

FREE WORLD HAZARDS THESE INFORMED GUESSES

1. Stalin will shortly be back on his job and will make a personal effort to better the relations with the United States and Great Britain.

2. France's new constitution will be the most liberal and most internationalistic of all existing constitutions.

3. Parliamentary members of the British Labor Party shortly will bring into the open their dissatisfaction with the foreign policies of the Labor Cabinet and will succeed in obtaining some important changes in the governmental set-up.

4. The democratic alliance of the anti-Peron forces in Argentina will ask for suspension of Argentine representation on the UNO until freedom is reestablished.

5. At the Preparatory Commission of the UNO a proposal will be put forward that the Economic and Social Council draft immediately a Declaration of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

SUN'S RAYS FOR INDUSTRY

TASHKENT—In this city which boasts of having the most sunshine in the USSR, a plant designed to use the sun's rays for heat is being constructed. Unique feature is a revolving reflector mounted on a solid 15-foot reinforced concrete column. A boiler, to be heated by the reflected rays of the sun, will be placed above the reflector, which has a diameter of 32 feet and consists of a series of mirrors.

SFORZA'S ''FIFTH FREEDOM''

ROME—Writing in Il Giornale del Mattino, Carlo Sforza asks for ''a fifth freedom, in addition to the four proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter.'' Pointing to the failure of the London Conference, Sforza writes: ''After Potsdam and London, one has the right

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to wonder whether a fifth freedom would not be necessary: the freedom of being informed on what is happening.''

DENMARK'S SECURITY IN DANGER

AABENRAA—South Schleswig now has as many evacuees as original inhabitants, the South Jutland-Danish Associations have announced, and soon—when 500,000 more German evacuees arrive from Poland and the Sudeten —the South Schleswig population of 300,000 will be increased to 1,000,000. Most of the evacuees will be embittered Germans from East Prussia and the Polish Corridor. The Associations fear that the crowding together of these dangerous elements may imperil Denmark's future security.

GROWING APPROVAL FOR VENEZUELAN REGIME

WASHINGTON—Widespread approval in the United States of Venezuela's new regime is expected to extend to most of American business. Officials are watching, however, whether Betancourt can keep the many diverse elements in his group together: small business, the lower ranks of the Army, and the agrarian population. The new ministers of health and agriculture are men who have cooperated very closely with the U. S. Government for a long time. Practically, the result of the revolution will be a further extension of our basic economy ageements with Venezuela.

PARIS-MOSCOW THEATRICAL WORLD

PARIS—One of the last hard-and-fast citadels of the legitimate theater fell recently when the board of directors of the Comedie Francaise decided to facilitate motion picture assignments for their actors. To the French public this news is like an announcement over here that Katherine Cornell has signed on Hollywood's dotted line. A special committee has been named as a liaison group between the Comedie and the film companies.

MOSCOW—Nearly all theaters are now in full swing with several foreign plays from England and the United States. Among Broadway plays which are attracting Moscow crowds are Lillian Hellman's Watch on the

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Rhine and The Little Foxes. English drama is represented by Somerset Maugham's Penelope and Circle.

POLAND AND THE WEST

WARSAW—Polish scholars will be able to visit England to conduct scientific research, according to arrangements made with the British Council of Cultural Relations. In addition, the first shipment of British books to Poland since the war's end is now on its way. In the field of foreign trade, Poland is reviving its relations with Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Italy, etc.

BRAZIL LEADS NEIGHBORS IN AIR TRANSPORT

RIO DE JANEIRO—Wartime Brazil has emerged in the postwar world as the leader of commercial air transportation in South America. Official figures of the Brazilian Government show that the number of passengers carried in 1940 was nearly tripled in 1944; air freight showed a sixfold increase, while baggage and mail was nearly tripled in volume.

FRENCH-ITALIAN POSTWAR COOPERATION

PARIS—A ''new Italy'' is arising, said De Gaulle in a recent radio broadcast, and it will become ''France's neighbor and cousin.'' De Gaulle pointed out that Cyrenaica and Tripoli had belonged to Italy before fascism and that the reorganization of Europe would not prejudice ''collaboration of all of Europe.'' Putting words into practice the French government has asked the Italian government for several thousand workers. The French trade union organizations already have accepted the principles of equal treatment for Italian workers, and both the French and Italian General Confederations of Labor are approaching their respective governments on this point.

ICELAND'S MOTTO: RADIO IN EVERY HOME

REYKJAVIK—Iceland may be small but it has big ears. The number of radio receiving sets in Iceland jumped in 1944 to at least 27,339 private radio receivers for a population of some 121,618 people. Even highly industrialized nations can hardly keep up with little Iceland. France, with a population of nearly 40,000,000 has 5,261,770 radios; Great Britain's 47,755,000 people have 9,436,000

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radios; and Russia's 170,000,000 people use 10,551,361 radios. There is a total of 60,000,000 radios in use in the United States.

TEST COMING FOR PERU'S GOVERNMENT

LIMA—President Bustamente's new Peruvian regime is heading for a real test. Although his administration went in as a popular government, it has developed a body of reactionaries akin to the group in our own Congress. Bustamente's social program, therefore, has suffered a setback as President Truman's reconversion program in both houses of the legislative body. Peru is now suffering from acute shortages of food and other necessary supplies, largely because of transportation breakdown. Bustamente is threatening to resign or to dissolve the legislature unless he gets support. His real strength with the people soon will be revealed. If Bustamente's government fails, it will be a tragedy for democratic government.

THE CHURCH IN ITALIAN POLITICS

FLORENCE—Speaking at the inauguration of the Chistian Social Week, Cardinal Della Costa gave his views on the new Italian Constitution:

"The assembly that we are going to elect will have the task of giving Italy a constitution which will replace that of 1848. Recent constitutions in other states, which have not the typical religious characteristics of Italy, are based on Christian principles. Only two constitutions form an exception to this rule: the Mexican and the Russian constitutions. We know that the constitutions of both Mexico and Russia have reaped a harvest of blood and death."

Regarding the new constitution, the Cardinal advocates: (a) the Catholic religion as the state religion; (b) the guarantee of personal liberty; (c) the maintenance of the indissolubility of matrimony; (d) assurance of a Christian education in the schools; (e) social justice for all.

The left parties have sharply criticized this direct intervention in political affairs by the Church and have denounced it as a maneuver to foster rightists and monarchists.

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FREE WORLD DECEMBER, 1945

VOLUME 10, No. 6

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INTERNATIONAL CITIZEN

Scientists by their very nature are international creatures. Thought cannot be bound by frontiers, caged within boundaries, barred by the narrow cant of jaded nationalism. The whole purpose of science, of thought, and of inquiry is to free men of mummification within the bonds of their prejudices. Thought has blossomed precisely because it has been free to roam, lighting here a lamp, opening there a window, breaking here a superstitution, there a taboo. The history of man's thought and inquiry is like a great sprawling plant with adventitious roots—some sterile, others burgeoning green and fresh to wither soon but helping others to be strong with the sap of a tiny drop of truth.

But those roots, the fruitful nodes, are not all within any single country. They occur everywhere that men are thinking, working, seeking. How many more men would have died had Sir Alexander Fleming not broadcast his discovery of penicillin for it to be tested and improved? And would there have been an American Revolution without Rousseau and Voltaire read in the American colonies?

The world is abandoning the outworn modes of nationalistic restrictions. The world is moving slowly, but it is moving, to the goal of international government, of international citizenship. The first true world citizens are scientists—by their nature and their work. They work for all the world. This should be recognized. And, in return, the world can do this: Let all duly accredited social and physical scientists be recognized as citizens of the world, enjoying multiple citizenship with freedom to travel, probe, study, and work in their fields. It is little enough to do.

The Editors

Manuscripts should be sent to FREE WORLD, INC., 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y. Algonquin 4-0722. The editors will consider manuscripts submitted, but assume no responsibility for them.

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FREE WORLD

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

PUBLISHED IN EIGHT EDITIONS: American, Mexican, French, Chilean, Chinese, Greek, Puerto Rican, Uruguayan.

IN PREPARATION: Russian, Swedish, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Arabic, British Editions.

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Phot. Gullers ★

SWEDEN IN BETWEEN *Count Folke Bernadotte, head of the Swedish Red Cross, who did much to alleviate the suffering of the wartorn people in Europe. He is the author of "The Curtain Falls" a lively eye-witness account of Germany's last days. This picture symbolizes Sweden's own difficult position: Standing between warriors and at the same time trying to preserve her freedom and independence.*

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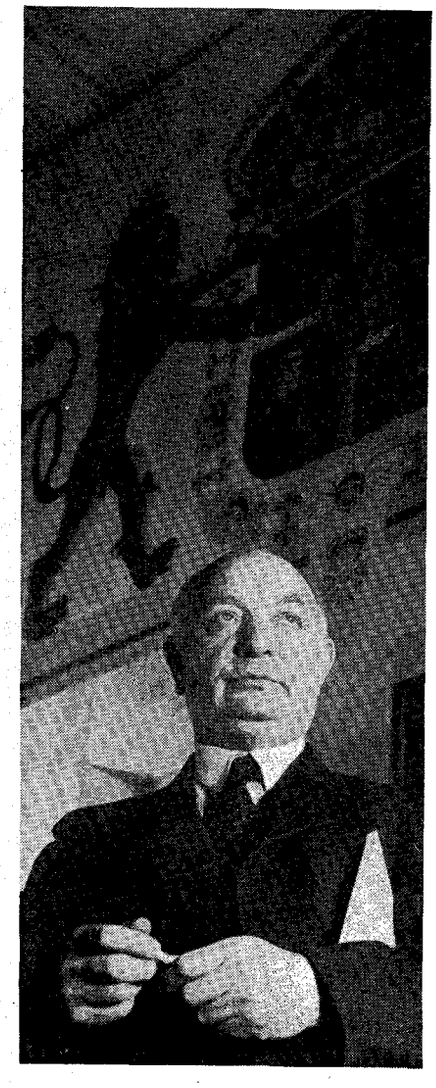
SWEDEN

WORKSHOP OF DEMOCRACY

THE Museum of Science and Industry in New York recently showed a collection of photographs by the Swedish Photographer K. W. Gullers The exhibit is called "Sweden, Workshop of Democracy"—a title well selected. There is hardly another country of comparable size where democracy at work can be seen operating so efficiently as in this land of the middle road. Socialists are more conservative conservatives more liberal, than in other countries. The number of Communists in the Swedish Parliament is the highest of all Scandinavian countries, but the position of the King is less disputed than elsewhere. Sweden's legislation is sound, her co-operative systems have been admired and studied by larger countries. Her neutral position between warring neighbors—Sweden has had no war for almost 140 years—has added to her natural wealth

During recent years thousands of refugees came to Sweden—their last hope of escape from Nazi oppression. Norwegians walked for days over wintry mountains. Danes arrived in small boats. Sweden did what was in her power to help.



Sweden's Prime Minister, Per Albin Hansson, head of the Social Democratic party, has guided the fate of his country for ten years.

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Nobel prize-winner The Svedberg, Sweden's outstanding physicist, is one of the innumerable scientists now working on atomic research. (See also our cover, showing a laboratory of the Nobel Institute in Stockholm. It was here that Dr. Lisa Meitner continued her research after she had left Germany.)

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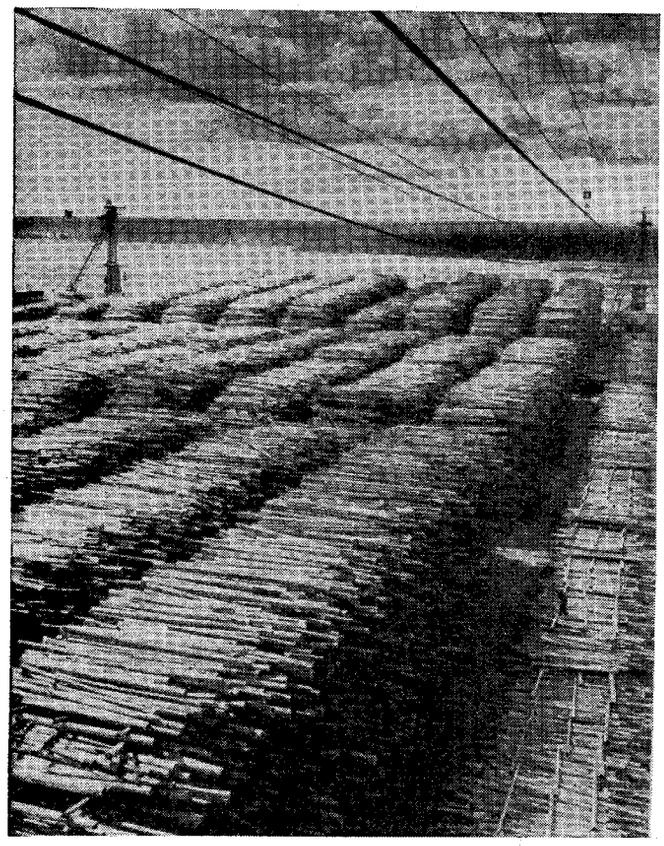

Forests occupy half of Sweden. Lumber, wood products, pulp and paper are main export products. Shortage of shipping space led to tremendous stocks.

The Swedish match industry, with well utilized water power, is the largest in the world.

Swedish wooden matches are found all over the world. Here are some of the names and labels for export use.

With an eye to the future, Sweden manages its forest supply most carefully: Planned cutting, planned re-foresting.

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Healthy children are Sweden's greatest asset. Even this boy from one of the "slum" districts in Stockholm shows none of the signs of under-nourishment and poverty. General health insurance, free meals and free camps for needy children, and maternity help on a large scale are some of the factors which account for the high health standards of the nation. The same could be done for people all over the world.

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CHILDREN'S BOOKS

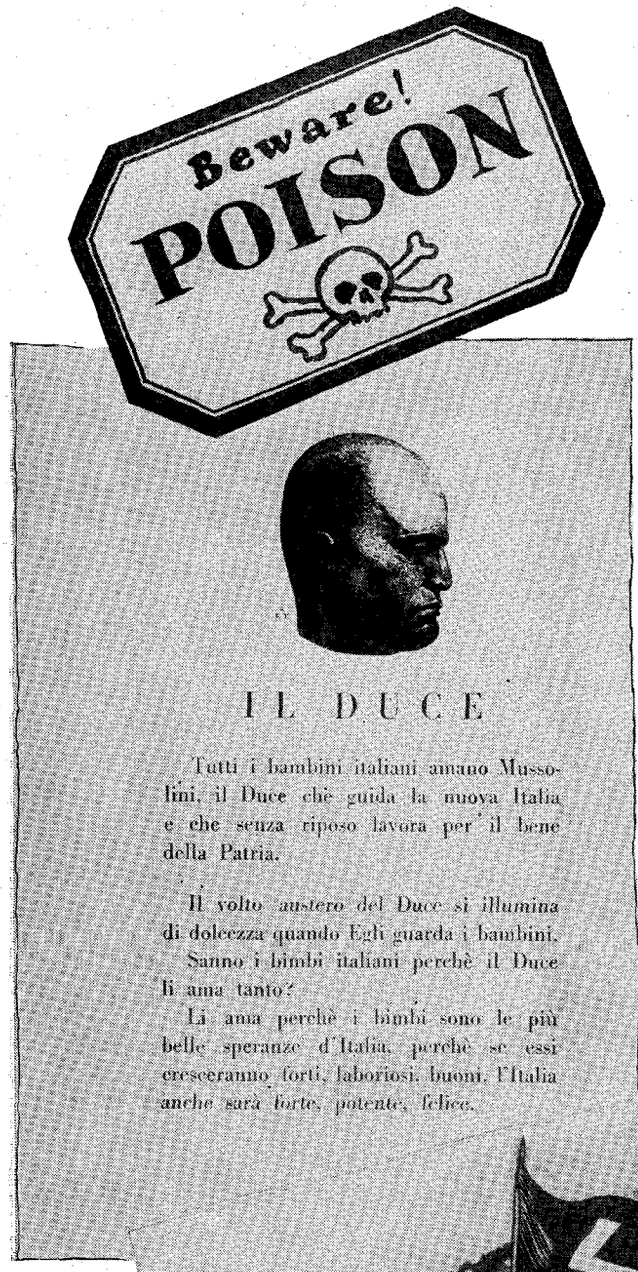
WITH FANGS

IN a battle-shaken world, people searching desperately to uproot the causes of war have come at last upon one of the most insidious ways in which men learn to hate and distrust one another: From childhood they have learned vicious half-truths from their own school textbooks.

For some time, the general public has been aware of the notorious Nazi children's books written to promote race hatred and love of war. But only recently have we come to realize that other nations also should scrutinize their educational books most closely to remove their own distortions of truth.

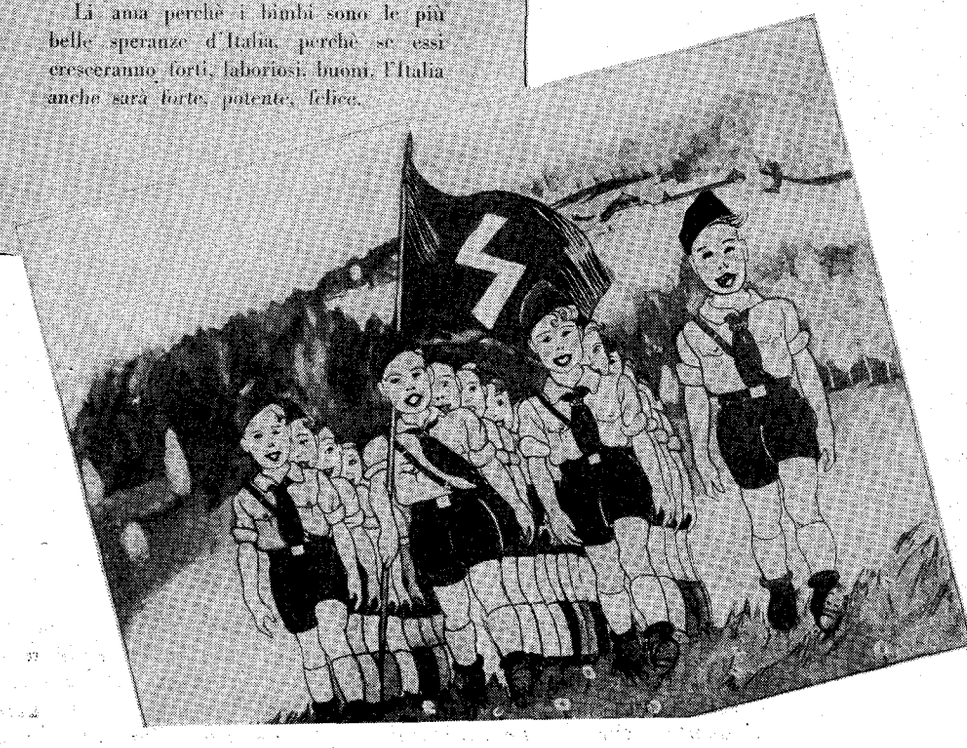
Delegates to the International Educational and Cultural Organization of the UNO find that in no two nations do children read the same story about a specific historical event. Geography books, for example, in many of the United Nations are sketchy and misleading especially in regard to countries other than their own.

Almost subconsciously, the average adult assumes what he reads in a book to be true. Far more impressionable is the youthful mind which may absorb without question the most fantastic distortions of reality. For the future security of his children, every parent through the International Educational Organization must urge elimination of biased books from schools everywhere if he would have his child live in a world of unbiased people.



Italian books for children were filled with fascist exhortations. Even primers for first graders explained in detail why "all Italian children love the Duce . . . who guides the New Italy so brilliantly" . . .

N. Y. Public Library



Totalitarian countries found in children's books a fertile field for the early inculcation of political ideas. In picture books of 1933, even tiny tots march proudly under the Hitler flag. Little did the authors surmise that ten years hence the goose-stepping they depicted would carry the whole country to defeat and death.

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Samples from a picture book, published by the ill-famed Nazi leader and jew-baiter, Julius Streicher.

Literature for children in nazi Germany was slanted according to the nazi ideologies—from glorification of the army to vicious master-race theories.

Germanic Library, Columbia University

The captions read: "Whenever you children see a cross, think of the horrible murder the jews committed at Golgotha . . ."

"All jews have noses with a rounded point like a 6."

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Russian children's books printed in mass-production have highly artistic illustrations. They are better than books for juveniles in most other European countries and are much cheaper. Some of them are neutral, others have a distinct political tinge.

十三、吾等ノ覺悟　採自(三省堂『東洋歷史教科書』第四十六章)

支那ハ自ラ土崩瓦解セントスル形勢デアルソシテ支那ノ興亡盛衰ノ我ガ帝國ノ運命ニ關スルコトハ頗ル大デアルサレバ吾等ハ常ニ東洋問題特ニ支那問題ニ注意シ其ノ過去ノ歷史ニ照シテ將來ノ對策ヲ誤ルコトナク以テ我ガ帝國及ビ民族ノ發達ヲ謀リ

附　支那共和國　採自(內藤虎次郎『新創東洋史』第十七章)

民國ト異種族　中華民國革命ハ其ノ始メ興漢滅滿ヲ中心トシタガヤガテ

If politicians had examined children's books years ago, they might have discovered in advance the picture of things to come. Since 1927, the anti-foreign education in Japan—as expressed in books for children—followed closely the general Japanese policy. We quote from a book on China for Japanese children: "The main traits of the Chinese such as cunning, hypocrisy, cruelty and barbarity are the crystallization of a history of 4,000 years. There is no necessity anymore to treat the Chinese as human beings. Is it not foolish that most of the Japanese people, not knowing the wicked nature of the Chinese people deal with China as a civilized nation?"

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FOOD FOR THE WORLD

The first meeting of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations in Quebec

A PICTURE REPORT FOR FREE WORLD BY SERGE FLIEGERS

Food for the Food Conference. Monsieur Louis, Chef of the Chateau Frontenac, feels that talking about food all day makes Conference delegates hungry, so here he cuts the turkey for ex-Senator Samuel D. Jackson of Indiana, Clinton Anderson, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture; and Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma—all members of the American delegation to the Conference. Said Monsieur Louis: "I hope this turkey will be like proverbial loaves and fishes, but if the world can't have turkey—at least please give them enough bread."

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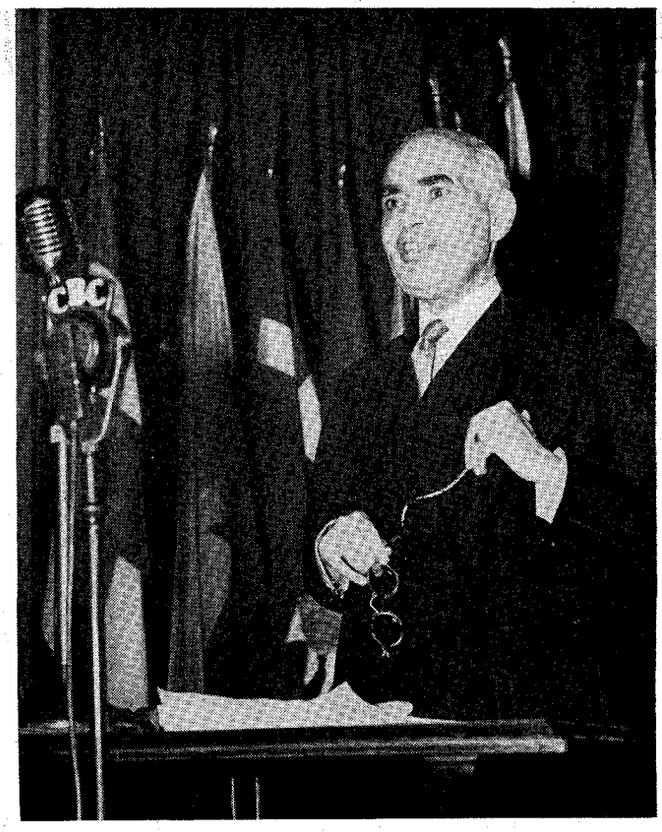
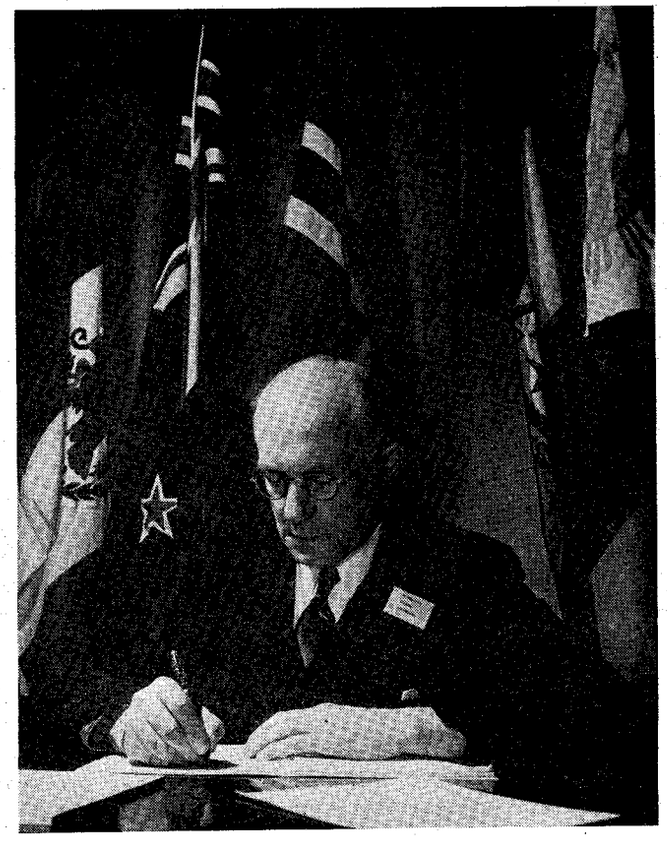
Above, Deputy Prime Minister of Poland, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, signs the Constitution of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.R.R., also represented, did not sign. Below, Sir John Boyd Orr, newly elected Director General of F.A.O., in his acceptance speech. Orr is British Member of Parliament and Nutrition Advisor to his Government.



Above, Sir Girja Shankhar Bajpai, Indian Agent General in Washington, and Chairman of his delegation, explains India's dire food needs to Conference members. Below, the Honorable David Wilson, High Commissioner of New Zealand to Canada, signs the F.A.O. Charter. New Zealand has one of the world's highest nutritional standards, but is concerned about the welfare of Far Eastern peoples.



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Russian delegates sat up all night translating the 40,000 word document of the Conference. Left, Ivan Volenko; right, Leonid Kiminsky, representative of the Byelorussian S.S.R. in Washington.

French delegation at work. Lt. Jean Back and his secretary Bridget Dreyfuss preparing a diplomatic pouch for Paris. They said: "We'd much rather be sending food than documents."

United Nations in session. Philip Noel-Baker, Minister of State of Great Britain, flanked at right by Ivan Randic of the Yugoslavian Ministry of Commerce, at left, by W. C. Naudé of the South African Legation in Washington.

Ali Jawdat, Minister of Iraq in Washington; and Thor Thors, Minister of Iceland in Washington. At each meeting the representatives sit next to each other—merely because their countries' names begin with the same letter.

Alexander Loverdos, Head of the Greek Office of Economic Research; Christos Vasmatzides, Director of the Agricultural Bank of Athens; Miss Jean Ross; and Nicholas Lely, Greek Minister of Information, compare notes.

The Russians continue work even during their meals. A. G. Khomianin of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, gives Delegation Head M. V. Lavrichenko, some last-minute information on new Conference problems.

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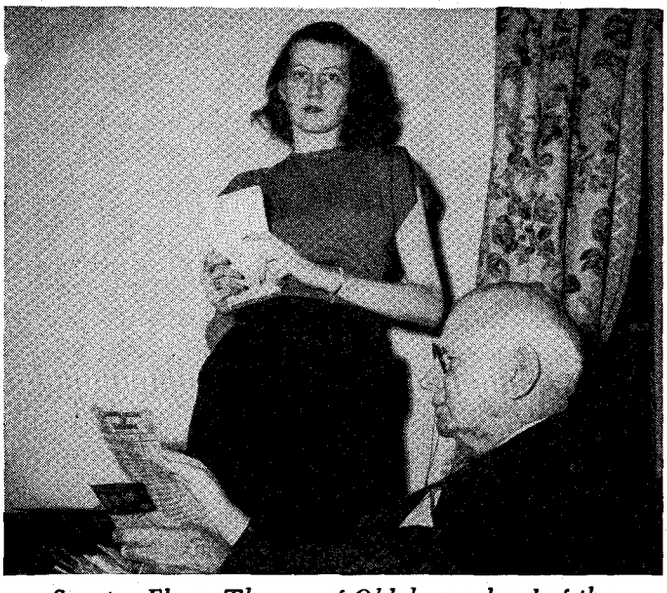
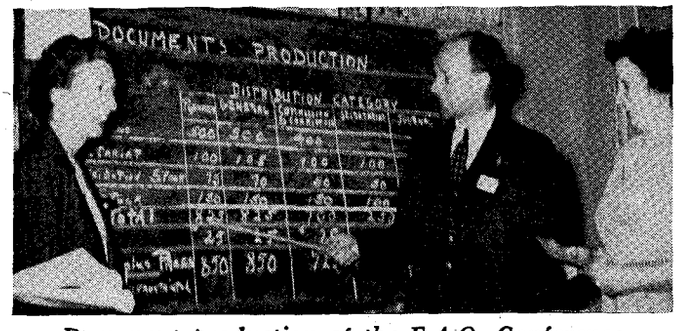
Philippine delegate Maximo Kalaw, who told the Conference of his country's need for agricultural rehabilitation.

Chinese Delegation Head Dr. P. W. Tsou, President of the Agricultural Association of China, who worked hard, never lost patience.

Frederick A. Price, Chairman of Liberian delegation, one of the delegates best informed on nutrition standards.



Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma, head of the Senate Agriculture Committee, dictating.



Document production of the F.A.O. Conference is rising steadily, according to George Jenssen of Norway, who heads this division. Said Jenssen: "Now that we have maximum production of reports, we should go on to production of food."

Sir T. Vijyaraghavacharya, Prime Minister of Udaipur and delegate from India. Conferees had competitions as to who could spell his name correctly the first time, but no one even attempted to spell his first name, which includes 36 letters. (Serge Fliegers won the spelling bee.) Indian delegates asked that food surpluses be sold to starvation areas below cost prices.

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EDITORIAL

WHAT CAN THE INDIVIDUAL DO IN THE ATOMIC AGE?

THE discovery of atomic energy may result in the blowing up of our earth, but at least it will have awakened the people of the world to the fundamental problems of the interdependence of mankind. Where philosophers have failed to interest the people as a whole in the spiritual, moral and economic foundations of mankind's unity, atomic scientists, rocket and radar technicians have succeeded within a few months in bringing into the farthest corners of human society an understanding of the inescapable necessity to unite the world.

Never before in history has the common man been filled with such deep anxiety, never before has he been so ready to act to safeguard civilization. But never before has he been so bewildered by the complexity of a problem. The same question is being asked in every meeting hall of the earth, by old and young, by rich and poor—"What can I do about it?" But the very fact that this question is being asked by millions of people, that they are shaking off the lethargy which so often dominates the aftermath of war, is progress in itself.

* * * * * * *

TO provide correct answers to the question "What can I do about it?" is probably the most important task of conscientious statesmen, writers, politicians, scientists, poets and artists. Each one must answer this question in his particular language with his own particular technique and with the best craftsmanship of his profession. The answer must be different from the usual manifestos; it must be different from the traditional political party pamphlet; it must be different from the usual national methods of political action. The answer must apply to human beings everywhere, because the problem that confronts humanity surpasses every division and sectionalism that has existed before.

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WE venture to give the first elements of the answer, being fully conscious, of course, that there is no miraculous cure-all for the evils of humanity. The final answer will be given only when the human attitude as a whole toward fellow-men and peoples will have changed completely. But everything must have a beginning, and here it is:

1. The conscientious citizen of any country must become acquainted with the reasons why collective security broke down after World War I and how the national-socialist and fascist movements led to this war.

2. He must examine carefully the contributions of various countries to the winning of the war, realize that his country would not have been able to win alone, and acquaint himself with the promises for the future made by the Allies during the war.

3. He must master the basic elements of atomic science, realize its universality, examine the consequences of the gigantic industrial revolution of our time with its almost unlimited potentialities, and acquire by himself the conviction that no national defense, however favorable the conditions, can avoid an armament race and, ultimately, war.

4. He must fight for a speedy economic integration of the world and for joint United Nations measures of rehabilitation to prevent the wave of misery and despair which threatens to engulf a great part of the earth.

5. He must study the Charter of the United Nations and begin to fight for immediate application of all its healthy provisions. In so doing he will force a rapid elimination of its existing weaknesses.

6. He must study and begin to fight for the ultimate goal of twentieth century humanity, which is World Federation.

* * * * * * *

THIS process of intense self-education which may take many months, cannot be successful unless a great number of citizens change some of their habits of life. They must learn to meet more often with neighbors in study groups, with the editors of their newspapers, with the directors of their local radio stations, with their elected representatives, with educators, scientists and other public leaders. The meeting must stop being pure entertainment or a casual affair. It must become part of a new pattern of life. Once this process of self-education has had a sucessful start, the citizen will grow immensely in stature. His personal and intellectual value will greatly increase. His relationship with his family and community will change. An earnestness, precision and logical thinking

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will take hold of every civilized community and will in turn have great influence on national legislatures and governments.

* * * * * * *

IN the course of this process of self-education, the citizen will slowly get acquainted with many facts about other peoples which he had not known before. He will throw aside many absurd prejudices, common sayings, and begin to realize increasingly that the distinctions as to race, color and creed among human beings will not withstand scientific scrutiny. Once this mass education movement has begun, far-reaching changes will take place in the movies, radio, newspapers and other media of public information. Educated citizens will obtain through their mass demand important revisions of programs, editorial policies, etc. The triviality so common today will be replaced by content-matter based on serious research, because owners of information media will discover that the public demands something different. None of them will dare to brave widespread popular disapproval.

In the process, family and communal life will undergo deep changes. Indifference and superficiality will tend to disappear. The family will be strengthened because its members will have grown up. The community will improve because many citizens, instead of a few active members of party machines, will participate in public affairs. A democratization never before possible will govern the daily life of local communities. Gradually the citizen will begin to observe much more carefully his national representative. The voter, in electing a man or woman to office, no longer will be influenced by the fact that the candidate is well-known in the community, that his family has lived there for a long time, or that he promises to improve local conditions. The office-seeker's whole philosophy and outlook on life, his understanding of world problems, his readiness to act for world unity and his ability to understand the new situation will become increasingly the determining criteria for his election. Traditional party lines will be swept away. The contact between voter and electee will become much more mature, and within a very short time the national legislatures will be as radically transformed in their moral and human qualities as the world has been changed by the events of the last few months.

* * * * * * *

CITIZENSHIP at last will become much more than — as so often happens today — a dull act of disgruntled voting, and will reach new heights in that ultimate form of democracy which is the fullest participation by the people in the administration of their affairs.

This wave, if it spreads throughout the most decisive countries, will force out, by the sheer weight of world public opinion, the short-sighted, chauvinistic concepts and make conditions ripe for the strengthening of the United Nations Organization and for its transformation into world government.

DECEMBER, 1945

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A recent picture of Leon Blum, showing him upon his arrival in London. Black Star

LEON BLUM

Former premier of France, leader of the Socialist party, Leon Blum is one of the most colorful and powerful intellectuals of France and of the world. Arrested at Vichy's orders, transferred to Germany, hated and feared on three counts—as a Socialist, as an outstanding democratic leader and as a Jew—he never wavered for a moment. At the Riom trials, where from being a defendant he became an accuser of Vichy and Nazism, he predicted the re-birth of France as a democracy and the victory of the Allies—and this facing the muzzles of his executioners' rifles and the Gestapo's torture.

One of the marvels of Leon Blum is that despite his seventy-three years, he has emerged from Fascist prison unembittered, a stronger intellect, with a deeper belief in humanity and a craftsmanship in writing surpassing even his earlier mastery.

If France in her new constitution accepts the daring challenge which he outlines in this statement, France at one stroke will have assumed the intellectual leadership of the world community.

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FRANCE'S TRUE FACE

by

LEON BLUM

THERE are constitutions, such as the French Constitution of 1875, designed to curb the natural inclination of democracies toward progress. There are other constitutions, such as the next French Constitution will doubtless be, designed to allow that same natural inclination its freedom and space to develop.

I think the country has made its choice between the two general types of constitution. The Socialist Party has already taken a clear position on this subject.

Due to the very fact that the functions of the modern State exceed by far those of the classical State, the future Constitution of the Republic must have a field of action far broader than was foreseen in constitutions of the past. The next French Constitution must be not only a political charter, but be also an economic and social charter, and an international charter. While at the same time defining the rights of the individual and of the citizen, the new constitution also must define the essential rights of the community within the broad economic and social field—rights which the constitutions of the past have tacitly abandoned to the free interplay of individual initiative, but which the evolution of capitalism itself has slowly transferred from the domain of private law to that of public law.

The constitution, of course, will do no more than define the principles; it will outline the framework which legislation will have the duty to complete. But the very declaration of rights extended to the measure of modern society will in itself be a great thing. As far as I know, nothing comparable yet exists in any country of the world.

If France gives this example, the new charter of the Republic will assume for all democracies of the world, a value comparable to the French and American Declarations of Rights of the 18th century. It will return to France the place it has traditionally occupied, in the forefront of universal democracy.

This result will be even more emphatic if by a most courageous initiative we dare give to the charter of the Republic, to the constitution of the French nation, an international character. What encouragement! and what a lesson to all the peoples of the world who desire peace—but who refuse to adopt the means necessary to the preservation of peace—if France, through her very constitution should declare in advance her willingness to become part of the international community; proclaim in advance her willingness to assign to the international organization those fractions of sovereignty which must be abandoned in order to assure the efficient functioning of the international community.

This solemn undertaking, if made by France while the "vetos" and the "Big Three" exist, can revive the international conscience, the internationalist demands, which are so discouraged by repeated disappointments.

This is the role which our party proposes to our country. It is our call to France to show the world her true face.

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79TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

SENATE RESOLUTION 183

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 24 (legislative day, OCTOBER 22), 1945

Mr. TAYLOR submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Whereas the atomic bomb and other new and terrible instruments of warfare make it possible that most of mankind and civilization itself may be destroyed should the world become involved in another war; and

Whereas even before the soldiers of this war have returned to their homes another race between nations is already under way to train ever greater armies and to produce more scientifically diabolical weapons in the largest possible numbers; and

Whereas we believe that not only the people of the United States but an overwhelming majority of all people in all countries are sickened by wars, senseless slaughter, and the burdens of great military establishments and crave only peace: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby calls upon the delegates of the United States of America to the United Nations Organization prayerfully and earnestly to redouble their efforts to secure world-wide agreement to—

Limit and reduce immediately and eventually to abolish armaments, outlaw military training and conscription except for such police forces as the Security Council of the United Nations Organization may deem necessary to preserve the peace of the world; outlaw the manufacture of weapons and instruments of war of every kind and nature, including atomic bombs and all other atomic weapons, except for such weapons as the Security Council of the United Nations Organization may deem necessary to preserve the peace of the world; provide for an international police force capable of enforcing these agreements; be it further

Resolved. That because the creation of an international police force requires adequate international civil authority for its control and mindful of the long and continued peaceful relations between the forty-eight States of our own Republic and being hopeful that similar principles of government if applied to all men will secure to the world the greatest possible opportunity for everlasting peace, we therefore urge that every possible effort of our delegates to the United Nations Organization be directed toward the ultimate goal of establishing a world republic based upon democratic principles and universal suffrage regardless of race, color, or creed; and be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to use the great powers and influence of his high office toward achieving the purposes of this resolution by instructing the delegates of the United States to the United Nations Organization to propose at the First Assembly of that Organization the creation of a commission to prepare the drafts of the requisite international conventions, agreements, and treaties for the establishment of the world republic proposed by this resolution.

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WHY A WORLD REPUBLIC?

by

GLEN H. TAYLOR

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM IDAHO

Idaho's junior senator, Glen Taylor, climbed the political ladder luring listeners with banjo and song—then urging his plans for peace through world cooperation. His audiences liked his ideas so well that they pushed him up through local government to Congress where he fought for the Bretton Woods Agreements and the ratification of the UNC. In October he introduced Senate Resolution 183, calling for a "World Republic"—the first time in history such an idea has been officially presented to the legislature of a major nation. Below he tells why he did it.

MY reasons for submitting to the Senate of the United States the resolution calling for the creation of a World Republic are extremely personal. I have two small sons. Like parents the world over, Mrs. Taylor and I did not bring them into this world only to have them die in World War III.

Having been elected to the Senate by the people of Idaho, I have a direct responsibility toward the parents of the children in that state whose names may well be on the casualty lists of another war. I promised the men and women who sent me to represent them in Washington that my every effort would be devoted to a world organization for a lasting peace. The teachings I received from my own mother and father would have been futile if I did not live up to those promises!

When the Charter of the United Nations Organization was presented to the United States Senate for ratification, I was among the eighty-nine members who voted "Yea" when the roll was called. The United Nations Organization came into being officially on October 24, 1945 – the day on which I introduced my resolution into the Senate. It is my sincere belief that the World Republic envisaged in that resolution can be created only through the medium of the United Nations Organization. There was no intention on my part in introducing the resolution to weaken or destroy the months of hard work that went into the preparation of the United Nations Charter or to call for the abolishment of the United Nations Organization. Instead, my only wish is to strengthen that association of nations—to extend it into its logical, final form, a World Republic.

To employ an oft-used historical comparison, I consider the United Nations Charter in its present form as the present-day counterpart of our own Articles of Confederation. The original thirteen colonies on this continent faced precisely the same situation that the nations on the six continents of the globe face today. They had a loose organization, a league of friendship, among the colonies, and it was inadequate. They argued and squabbled among themselves. They made no progress toward economic well-being. They fought among themselves.

At that time it was said that the thirteen colonies were too vast to be encompassed in one government. It was suggested that they should be divided into spheres of influence, so to speak, even as has been suggested for the nations of the world at the present time. It was suggested that a certain group of colonies should be in one confederation, another group in another confederation and a third group in still another confederation because the colonies were too big to be united in one republic. But our founding fathers thought better of that and so created the United States of America.

It is contended today that the world is too large for one republic, that there should be spheres of influence and confederations of nations in various sections of the world. I do not believe in that theory—I am unalterably opposed to that theory because spheres of influence have always been the prime ingredients of the witch's brew of suspicion between peoples, of international political and economic rivalry and of oppression of the dominated peoples within those spheres—all of which have invariably led to war in the past.

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There are some who claim that to establish a world-wide republic is impracticable and impossible because of the many races and religions and varying standards of living in the world. Here in America we also have many races and religions, and we also have greatly varying standards of living—not only between different classes but between the several sections of our country. Even in Canada, different languages are spoken in various regions of that democracy. It is claimed by many that we cannot even hope to get along peacefully with Russia—let alone join with her in a World Republic—because she has an economic system different from ours. We should bear in mind that Canada has a socialist government in the Province of Saskatchewan, but to date, it has not brought violence or revolution or even serious misunderstanding with the remainder of the Dominion.

MANY people who shudder at the idea of a World Republic fear that their country would lose control of its domestic affairs. That same fear was present in the minds of the citizens of the thirteen colonies who opposed the Federal Union by the Constitution. Let us examine for a moment what principal powers would have to be granted to the government of the World Republic by those of the present nations. The thirteen colonies, jealous of their rights, granted to the federal government their greatest single right—that of raising armies. What was the most important result of that grant? The peaceful solution of all disputes between the states! Aside from any will of the disputing states to avoid armed conflict, they were powerless to resort to arms to settle their differences because they did not possess military establishments! This, to my mind, is the all-encompassing reason for creating a World Republic.

The forty-eight states of the federal union still have their own legislatures, still have complete control over their own domestic affairs except in those matters which they themselves have decided could best be controlled by the federal government. Obviously, for example, a single monetary system has worked to the advantage of the individual states. The absence of tariff barriers between the states has made of the United States the greatest market the world has ever known. The institution of the Federal Reserve Banking System has been of great aid in developing the more economically backward areas of the country: we look to the same progress for the world under the international banking system envisaged by the Bretton Woods Agreements. But the states still have control of the banks within their borders.

And over even those powers which the states granted to the federal government, the people of the states still exercise control through their representatives in Congress. The federal government is, therefore, not a limitation of the sovereignty of the individual states but instead an extension of that sovereignty. True, the individual state cannot do exactly as it pleases —but neither can the individual citizen! I question whether any state—or nation—has today complete control over its sovereignty. Under the provisions of the Constitution, only the Congress of the United States has the right to declare war. But how much control did the United States have over its entry into World War II? The decision as to whether or not this nation would go to war with the Axis Powers did not rest with us—the decision was made for us by the war lords in Tokyo, Berlin and Rome. The only decision left to us was whether we would fight to retain our democratic way of life or submit to complete domination by the military criminals Hirohito, Hitler and Mussolini!

BUT all this, I sincerely believe, is nothing more than abstract theorizing. The atomic bomb and the other incredibly horrible weapons which have been developed, and which are still being developed, leave us but few alternatives, give us but little time to decide whether or not we shall live together peacefully or die together in a world at war. The thirteen colonies, had they failed to form that "more perfect Union," could have fought each other only with inadequate flint-locks and ineffective muzzle-loading cannon. But the fifty-odd countries of the present world, if they fail to form a World Republic, will fight each other with atomic bombs! That is what we face in this world: nations armed with atomic rocket bombs aimed at the vital centers of other nations, with a technician sitting at a button on a control-board, ready to press it and spread destruction to an entire nation—and all the nations of the world living in dread and fear. We know now that atomic bombs of tremendous explosive power can be produced in such small size as could be hidden inside an ordinary loaf of bread. Such bombs secretly planted in cities can be exploded ten years later by radio

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Senator Taylor with the very personal reasons for his resolution.

impulse from a plane flying at forty or fifty thousand feet overhead at night!

In this connection, let me quote a few of the men who really know the destructive power of atomic bombs:

Dr. Harold Ulrey, one of the scientists who helped develop the bombs:

> "Unless we can devise some plan to prevent the manufacture of atomic bombs we shall live in constant fear of sudden and violent death. A world of vast fear and apprehension will be our lot and that of our children.
>
> "We must understand that the most devastating weapon of all times is now in our hands and will soon be in the hands of other industrialized countries."

Dr. Robert R. Wilson, who foresees atomic bombs thousands of times more powerful than the ones dropped on Hiroshima, said on behalf of the Los Alamos scientists:

> "Efforts to keep it from other nations will lead to an unending war more savage than the last."

Counter-measures would be extremely difficult and uncertain because of the concentrated form of destructive energy and the large number of possible methods of delivery. Advantage would lie with the aggressor. A single heavy attack, lasting a matter of minutes, might destroy the ability of a nation to defend itself further. The bomb is a deadly challenge to civilization itself.

Dr. Shapley of Harvard University stated:

> "The future, if it is to be made safe for civilization, is one in which narrowly national interests diminish and world-wide responsibilities increase."

And President Truman had this to say to

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his neighbors in Kansas City, before the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima:

> "It will be just as easy for nations to get along in a republic of the world as it is for us to get along in the Republic of the United States."

I know that he spoke from his heart, but I think that since that time he has had too many "practical" advisers tell him that it is absolutely impossible even to think of a World Republic and, therefore, we should arm to fight instead of seeking peace through such a world government.

I know how that is: I went through a similar experience with my resolution. Every layman with whom I discussed the World Republic favored the idea but my political friends advised against introducing the resolution—not on the grounds that the World Republic was an unworkable idea but rather that it was politically impractical. I decided that discussing the World Republic idea with those friends was a poor course to pursue, because if I kept on I would be in the sad position of submitting my resolution over the good advice of every politician I knew. So I ceased and desisted and presented the resolution on my own initiative because in my heart I am convinced that a World Republic through the United Nations Organization is the only possible solution to the problem of attaining permanent world peace.

THE idea of a World Republic is not something that I thought of on the spur of the moment. I have studied the problem for a good many years. But, of course, when the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima, the effect upon me was something like that of a man turning around and seeing a grizzly bear on his tracks! It hurried me up a little—I thought more intensely on the subject and did considerably more research and study. Then, the apparent failure of the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London to achieve anything concrete and the obvious trend of the thoughts of many world leaders toward the necessity of great national military establishments both spurred my thoughts. The growing wave of pessimism which is sweeping the world and the fear of ordinary men and women that World War III is not too far away decided my course of action.

Recently I asked my friends and chance acquaintances what they thought of the idea of a World Republic as the most sensible and practical way of maintaining peace in the world. I was rather astonished at the response which I received. Invariably the answer was, "Taylor, you have something there! I am for it, but I do not believe anyone else will be for it." When I spoke to the next person, I asked him the same question. I tried to put it in such a way that he would not think that I was sponsoring the idea. I wanted to get his honest reaction. Again I would receive the answer, "That is the right idea. It is our only hope of maintaining peace in the world, but I do not think anyone else will agree to it."

Everyone thought that I had something, but that he was the only one with enough vision to see the problem in its true light, and that no one else would agree with me. I talked with a former Senator. I talked with a man from India who has attended Harvard University and who is now lecturing at a college here. I talked with farmers from my own State of Idaho. The other day I talked with one of them and suggested the idea of a World Republic. He said, "I am for it. That is the only thing that will maintain peace in the world." Knowing that he was a farmer, a grower of sugar beets and probably a strong advocate of high tariffs and opposed to reciprocal trade, I said to him, "You understand that possibly in the World Republic the government might abolish all tariffs between nations." I thought that would stop him if anything would. He said, "That's all right. I still say, we must have a world government if we are to hope to have peace and avert the destruction of humanity."

ALTHOUGH the state of the world so demands, I do not expect that my resolution or the concurrent ones that have been introduced into the House of Representatives by Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas and Congressman Charles La Follette will receive immediate favorable legislative action in the Congress of the United States. My best hope is that developing events and the pressure of public opinion may eventually bring action before we have traveled too far down the road of military might to bring the monster of armed force under control. The resolutions are before the two Houses of Congress. They have been submitted. It is up to the people of America to make known their wishes in the matter. It is up to the other peoples of the world to make their wishes known to their own national legis-

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latures. I call upon my colleagues—my fellow legislators throughout the world regardless of party—to bring forth similar resolutions.

Preservation of world peace cannot be left to the whims of sovereign states or to conferences of foreign ministers or to security councils. These inadequate agents may suffice for a time, they can even be valuable as architects of a more permanent structure. The United Nations Organization may have been adequate at San Francisco but agreements between sovereign nations will not suffice in the atomic age which has come into being since the San Francisco Conference.

General Marshall has said:

> "If Man does find the solution for world peace it will be the most revolutionary reversal of his record we have ever known."

I agree with General Marshall. It will be a revolutionary reversal but I believe that if we have the courage, the resolute purpose and the magnificent imagination which was displayed by the framers of the American Constitution, this can be accomplished. Those men did not wait for the masses to force them to act. They were leaders. They had been called upon only to revise the Article of Confederation, but they recognized the futility of confederations and leagues of friendship and agreements between sovereign powers. So they took the responsibility upon their own shoulders and drafted our Constitution. When some objected that they were going too far, George Washington said:

> "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God."

How well might those words of President Washington apply to circumstances at this very grave moment in the history of the world!

The Taylor family minus the youngest, who at the time of this campaign photo, starred only on the diaper circuit. Taylor has proved he can think and fight as well as sing.

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tojo doesn't live here any more

by Major BEN Z. KAPLAN

Major Kaplan has been communing with his diary every day since the age of 13. The entries from which these selections were made are Kaplan's numbers 4093-4099. A graduate of Texas U. (B.J. '41) he did radio work in the brief interim between college and the army which has taken him to Africa, Italy and now Japan. Major Kaplan's home is in Waco, Texas.

ATSUGI AIRFIELD, JAPAN, 30 August '45 (Thursday) Entry 4093

Japan. Two or three years ahead of schedule, according to my own timetable, to say nothing of the Army and Navy, judging from the flying and floating arsenals we left behind at various Pacific stops. But, because being here represents what I hope will be the last hitch between me and civilian clothes, I must say that I am awfully glad to see the Land of the Rising Sun (which only shines 21 full days out of the year, we're told).

The landings came off without incident today. We were in the vanguard of some 200,000 troops which will land in the Atsugi, Tokyo, Yokohama, Tateyama and Yokosuka area. Only 150 engineers preceded us on the 28th—to prepare Atsugi for the heavy traffic which began today. Last night we watched the transports being loaded on Okinawa. It was an impressive sight. Files of shadows of airborne infantrymen silently awaiting the hours before take-off outside and beside the huge greyhound-nosed C-54's. Have never seen such activity around a field. An estimated 300 four-motored transports were being loaded. There were men and planes and trucks as far as the eye could see in all directions. And, as it grew darker the lights, collectively, gave the appearance of a county fair, or carnival, seen from a distance.

Take-off at 2:30 this morning. Slept just about all of the way, if not too comfortably.

We landed at about 0800 hours. Each C-54 had five minutes in which to get down, disgorge,

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then taxi out to the runway for take-off. The precision was magnificent. Many troops were already on the ground when we landed.

First we commandeered a truck to take our baggage and equipment to the end of the runway, where we could see the two Stinko Project B-17's parked: "The Dateliner," or radio-sending-and-receiving plane; and "The Headliner," which had brought the boss, Lt. Col. John R. (Tex) McCrary, and some 14 correspondents two-thirds of the way around the world, from Washington to Japan by way of Europe, the Middle East and Indo-China. Correspondents and crew members were scattered around the planes, since the order was to sit tight. No one could leave the field. Clark Lee *(INS)* was sitting on a 5-gal. oil can, with his portable on his knees, typing furiously while nonchalantly looking in all directions. Vern Haughland *(AP)* was seated under the tail section of the communications plane, likewise writing. The inseparable Bernie Hoffman *(Life)* and Stan Troutman *(Acme)* were off to one side with Big John Bockhorst *(MGM)*, checking a mountain of dumped camera equipment.

Inside the "Dateliner," which has direct communications with Guam, the radio men, Bill Downe *(CBS)*, Guthrie Janssen *(NBC)*, and Bob Brumby *(MBS)* were setting up their first radio shows. Fritz Opper *(ABC)* was in conference with Tex, who was sprawled out on the grass, surrounded by Jim McGlincy *(UP)*, Bill Lawrence *(New York Times)* and Homer Bigart *(New York Herald-Tribune)*.

Tex made me temporary adjutant of Stinko Project, pending the arrival of our rear echelon on D-plus-3. This meant worrying about transportation and quarters for our party of about 50. No one on the field knew anything about billetting, or even whom to see. We found one empty barracks in the former Jap military area adjoining the field, so, grabbed, pencilled "RESERVED – OFFICIAL" signs on every room, then rushed off to get the baggage and claim possession immediately. It worked. And, it was a fortunate choice. The rooms aren't bad at all: two men in a room, hard beds, but with clean (yet slightly musty) sheets, and coarse Jap mosquito nets; electric lights; some furniture; running water; toilets (squatter-type, which reminded some of us of Africa). The Japs had prepared the barracks for the advance party two days before, and had printed signs in English beside each of their own. Over each latrine, for example, was a little card which read: "In Case No Flash *(sic)* Water, Please Use Water in Tub."

Highlight of the day, I suppose, was the arrival of General MacArthur this afternoon. It was an event. His C-54, "Bataan," landed at 1400 hours, and the Second Coming couldn't have caused more commotion. He was greeted by a band, swarms of lesser generals, an array of the 11th Airborne Division troops, what seemed like hundreds of newspapermen and photographers (actually, 112 correspondents, including 80 American, arrived today), and representatives of Domei. We rode over from the other side of the runway. The General descended from his plane with all the pomp and ceremony of a conquering hero. First, he paused at the head of the automatic ascent ladder, swept the horizon slowly, puffed on his four-inch tall corncob pipe, then came down to shake hands with the welcoming committee, and to pose for the cameramen. He looked as if he were not unaware of the place in history his setting foot on the sacred soil of Japan would occupy. And, I suppose, rightfully so. A statement to the press, fifteen minutes for the benefit of cameras and newsreels, and the party moved off to a waiting sedan which was to take him to Yokohama in triumph.

The meal served at the barracks tonight was unbelievably well prepared. Jap cooks, Jap waiters, linens, nice chinaware. Consisted of roast beef, salmon, fried and boiled potatoes, cucumbers, and asparagus. Preceded by cold beer and soup, and polished off with egg custard.

ATSUGI - YOKOHAMA - TOKYO - ATSUGI, JAPAN, 31 August '45 (Friday) Entry 4094

Captain Art Dressler, the Philadelphia Dutchman who shares my room, put it this way tonight: "Today I saw what I came into the army to see—Tokyo." Can't say that I got in just to see Tokyo, but it was interesting enough seeing it—on the way out. Apparently we were among the first Americans in the city, since it was off limits most of yesterday, and outside of a few correspondents, we saw hardly any military personnel. The few that we did see had made very little impression on the people on the streets—they greeted (if it can be called that) us with absolutely no sign of emotion. And, I saw, literally, thousands of faces in the heart of the city.

Started out for Tokyo in a Plymouth, but ran across a charcoal-burning bus at the airfield—complete with Nisei interpreter.

The trip by bus took almost two and one-half hours, going through Yokohama and Kawasaki.

The route in gave us our first close-up of

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Japan proper—seen through the rain. It wasn't nearly so neat and pretty as when seen from the air. But it was far different from Africa or Europe. The engineers had already put up road signs in English and Japanese. The road to Yokohama was dirt, and in pretty bad shape. This road took us through farm country that was interesting: pitch-black soil, rice fields with bare-footed Japanese sloshing around, primitive cultivation, strange-looking farm houses and even weirder looking scarecrows in the fields.

From Yokohama through Kawasaki into Tokyo seemed like one unending mass of rubble. Yet, it was unlike African or European rubble. On the other side it was crumbled masonry, twisted girders, half-standing brick or concrete buildings. Something was usually left, no matter how complete the devastation otherwise. Here, since the buildings were of such flimsy construction, all that is left is the very heavy industrial machinery, masses of twisted corrugated sheets, pipes, ashes of the timber frameworks. Often the heat generated by the fire bombs was so intense that almost everything was burned or melted into unrecognizable shape. Most conspicuous would usually be a fat safe, which Bernie Hoffman considered especially fascinating.

The rubble stretched on and on. Yokohama itself is allegedly 95 per cent destroyed—and looked it. We drove by the New Grand Hotel, General MacArthur's bayonet-ringed headquarters. Kawasaki, the stretch between Tokyo and Yokohama, has been almost completely levelled. Tokyo absorbed seven bombings which destroyed over 56 square miles, or approximately one-half of the city. Downtown, the proportion was just about half standing, half flattened.

The Hotel Imperial was impressive in a small exotic sort of way; the lunch was not. A weak soup, fish cakes, followed by the entree, a half-cooked concoction, the principal ingredient of which was dough, and boiled cabbage. No dessert, but a glass of hot, musty, unsweetened tea. Cost: 5 yen per person. The yen has been set at 15 to the American dollar.

Afternoon: A trip around Tokyo with Guthrie Janssen, who has acquired a sedan. We rode around in the heart of the city, hitting the high spots. First, one of the gateways to the Emperor's Palace, which we approached cautiously. The guards appeared a little hostile when we approached too close, particularly when Hoffman and Troutman became a bit over-aggressive. Next, the bombed-out main Tokyo railroad station, which the two shot from the top of the Central Post Office, across the street. I waited at the car, watching the crowds which passed. Again, no emotion, no curiosity. More photos at the post office, then the American Embassy.

It had survived amid an area that was almost completely desolate. Windows were broken, and the roof was damaged, but it was otherwise intact, except for the flagpole, the remains of which lay in front of the entrance, underneath the seal of the State Department.

Back to the Imperial, then the long, wet trip back to Atsugi airfield. Once stopped to get what would have been a good shot of a Jap kid in the midst of acres of rubble. But the child ran away terrified. Saw three soup lines in the bombed-out areas of Kawasaki.

ATSUGI AIRFIELD, JAPAN, 1 September '45 (Saturday) Entry 4095

Sixth anniversary of the beginning of the war. Formal surrender of Japan will be signed on the "Missouri" tomorrow.

A busy day, but more rain and mud. Most of the correspondents off to Ofuna, reputedly the most dreadful of all the Jap prisoner-of-war camps. We expected more of the Stinko Mission supply planes today. They didn't come, but it meant sweating them out.

Afternoon: One of the most interesting experiences yet. Went through the Atsugi Catacombs, or the maze of underground tunnels which made up the main airfield air-raid shelter. They have been burrowed under the entire area, with branches leading in all directions, seemingly without end. We were told by one of the Jap houseboys that some 3,000 men could have lived underground there for an almost indefinite period. The tunnels were equipped with everything: Lights, sleeping dormitories, offices, a hospital, lathes, mess, to say nothing of what seemed like miles of supply tunnels. The entire system had been dug out of the black mud by pick-and-shovel, and the barracks-side entrance sloped inward to a depth of perhaps 150 feet. However, since the exits were actually at the bottom of a hill, it wasn't that far underground.

About eight of us went down into the tunnels with Hoffman and Troutman who both wanted to do picture stories.

Besides having steak (one each, very small) at our Jap mess tonight, we were pleasantly surprised to see five Australian nurses walk in and sit down at our table. First one came in with an American captain, then four others came in, alone. They weren't particularly attractive, nor were several of them young by any means.

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But it was feminine companionship of a tremendously interesting sort. They had just been liberated from a POW camp at the Yokohama Yacht Club, and had been there with some ten others, including one American nurse, Mrs. Etta Jones, who had been taken at Attu. The Aussie girls were captured at Rabaul, New Guinea, over 3½ years ago.

We listened attentively to their experiences. Their next-of-kin had never been notified of their capture; for all practical purposes they had been dead all this time. They were flabbergasted at the idea of being in the company of men again.

They'd shaved their heads three times—just to vary the monotony, and because it was so hard to keep clean. The girls were wearing uniforms they had made themselves—and saved just for their first night of freedom. They talked incessantly, without waiting for leading questions, except where one of us could edge one in. They seemed to bubble over, they were so happy. They had been deluged with food, and they couldn't get over that. Two of them hardly touched their steaks tonight; partly because chocolates had killed their appetites, partly because they were too busy talking.

They had been beaten, yes, but not too seriously. And they showed their defiance by singing in the face of their Jap guards at the most crucial time.

We talked with the girls until late. I gave one of them a carton of cigarettes. I thought tears were going to come to her eyes; this was too much. . . .

ATSUGI AIRFIELD, JAPAN, 2 September '45 (Sunday) Entry 4096

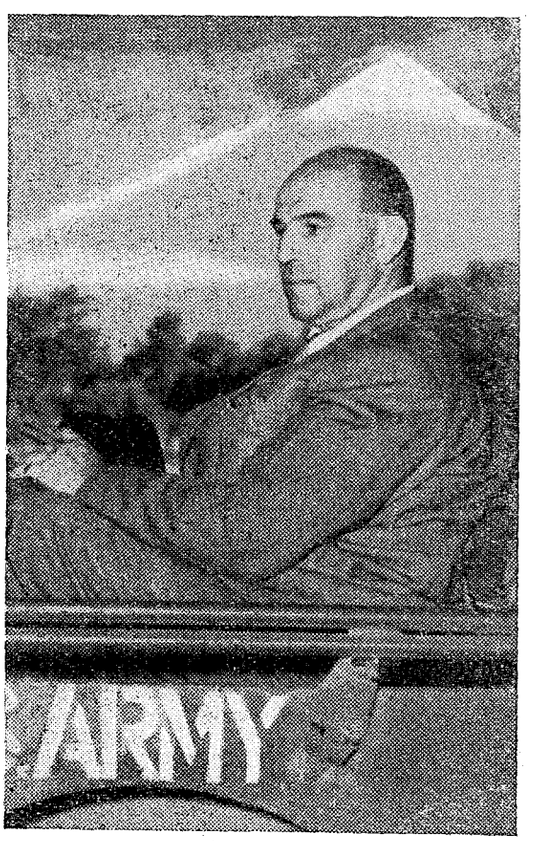
First mail call and the Japanese surrender, both in the same day.

The signing of the surrender was attended for the public relations office by Lt. Robert M. Coffelt, of Washington, D. C. A long chat with him in the bath vats tonight. I asked him what had impressed him the most during the ceremony, which he saw from one of the ringside seats, seated directly behind a company of American newspaper executives. Coffelt said that the emotional highlight for him came when General MacArthur asked General Jonathan Wainwright to stand at his side while he signed. Coffelt, a bomb target expert with Stinko Project, had seen Wainwright years ago in Washington. Says he looked terribly frail. MacArthur's hands trembled when he signed. The Japanese delegates' faces were totally inscrutable and expressionless. Not so the Chinese, for whom this was a moment of supreme triumph. Coffelt says he could feel their emotions boiling underneath. One of the newspaper executives in front of Coffelt jotted down a cryptic note which the latter happened to see. It read: "The Chinese seem to smell something." I wonder if in their Oriental wisdom—and understanding of the Japs—they were not able to "smell" something more than what met Occidental eyes.

ATSUGI-TOKYO-ATSUGI, JAPAN, 3 September '45 (Monday) Entry 4097

Into Tokyo again for the first phase of the new project: to get statements from prominent Japanese officials who can show what air power did.

The children along the road from Atsugi into Yokohama certainly showed the unmistakable signs of the American touch this time. They laughed and waved, some saluted, still more held out cupped hands. GI's have probably been throwing them candy or sugar and cigarettes. Children and soldiers are the same no matter where the army goes.



The "Butcher of Warsaw," Gestapoman Joseph Meisinger, after his arrest—comfortably riding in an Army jeep, smoking his cigar (with Fujiyama as background).

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Major Kaplan, the author of this diary.

Clark Lee turned over a fascinating manuscript to me before he left for Hiroshima this morning. Read it after I got back tonight. Was his verbatim interview with Iva Toguri, or "Tokyo Rose." He had taken down her story on his portable typewriter in a hotel room in Yokohama, and in the presence of Harry Brundidge, a Domei representative, and her husband. I was interested in "Tokyo Rose" for a particular reason—I had made an extensive study of the programs and propaganda techniques of her European counterparts, "Axis Sally" and "Midge." So I read the "Tokyo Rose" story with more than casual interest. It seemed to be the same apologetic tripe. Of course, there will probably be other "Tokyo Rose" exclusives, since there seems to be some doubt as to which of several women announcers was the one dubbed "Rose." I would have liked to study her scripts, in comparison with "Sally's." She burned them two weeks ago.

ATSUGI AIRFIELD, JAPAN, 5 September '45 (Wednesday) Entry 4099

Two people popped up unexpectedly today. One was younger brother Ralph, a radio operator on a general's B-17; the other was Joseph Meisinger, a Gestapoman affectionately known as the "Butcher of Warsaw." Had seen Ralph some ten days ago on Okinawa, our first meeting in four years. During this time I have probably seen a thousand army public relations home-town stories of brother-meets-brother overseas. It never occurred to me that this might be a sensation quite unlike any other one encounters in the army. It was.

Had gone down to the line with Captain Dressler, who was working on a photo series. The kid brother came up behind me just as I was about to get in a jeep. I'd made a mental note to check operations today, since my brother's general had told me the night before D-Day on Okinawa, that his B-17 would be over in about a week. They arrived today. So, we had lunch together.

A sign on one of the hangars: "Kilroy was Here." This was the first I've seen in Japan, but Kilroy is a mythical character one is likely to meet anywhere in the world. Don't know who "invented" the gag, but one sees the signs, or scrawlings everywhere. Sometimes it's "Kilroy Slept Here," or variations thereof; "Kilroy's Island—Discovered by Kilroy"; "Kilroy Doesn't Live Here Anymore." In Bengazi once I saw a sign which read: "Kilroy's Home Town." There was an oversized "Kilroy Kurrency" note under a glass desktop at Hickam Field, Hawaii, when we passed through there.

It is safe to estimate that perhaps three-fourths of the transports "liberated" during our first day or two of arrival has broken down. The roads are likewise in extremely poor shape, and getting worse.

"The Butcher of Warsaw" incident came tonight. Was seated in the room talking with Ralph tonight when Clark Lee, Bob Bromby and John Bockhurst came in, closed the door behind them, and whisperingly inquired if I could get them a guard. They kept referring to "him," and the necessity for keeping everything quiet. It was several minutes before I could get Bockhorst to even hint the name of their prisoner. He had been brought all the way from the Fuji-View Hotel, at Kawaguchi, in the back of a jeep, and was now in a room in the barracks across from ours, being guarded by Captains Dressler, Fred Mollwitz and S/Sgt. Kay Kamoto.

I walked over to the barracks. Saw about a dozen figures gathered around a jeep. They were getting ready to drive the "Butcher" into Yokohama. I walked up and got my only glance at the guy—a big hulk of a brute, whom Lee had described as the "most repulsive" he'd ever seen. He seemed to fill the entire front of the jeep, leaving very little room for the driver. I looked at him in the dim light afforded by the barracks windows. So this was the notorious "Butcher of Warsaw," allegedly responsible for the deaths of over 100,000 persons. Some of my relatives perhaps among them. Must say that I was strongly tempted to . . . but no, the war is over now. Killing is now illegal again. Besides, we are obligated to give each of them a fair trial. That's the way we operate, for better or for worse. So, I watched them drive him off, and I went back to censor the last three takes of Lee's story. . . .

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Aftermath in the South Seas

MARC T. GREEN

—wars leave many scars: some that disappear, some that ennoble. What has happened to the "the sweetest people God ever made?"

THE Second World War probably marks the end of an epoch in the South Seas. Whatever political changes may come, the economic and social impact will be felt for a long time, perhaps permanently. Economically, there has come about among the natives a complete reorientation of standards and values. Socially, new concepts have been born in the thought of the islanders, often to their bewilderment, in some cases to their confusion and restiveness. Psychologically the aftermath in the South Seas may turn out to be a transition period. In any case, an increased interest in the outside world, a new awareness of the strategic and commercial importance of their lands, and a radically changed economic outlook that has introduced a new and disturbing element of materialism, mark the end of the era of relative political and cultural isolation. These things threaten to bring cosmopolitanism and worldliness to the storied islands of romance.

In effect, the South Seas, by which is meant the many island-groups below the equator and numberless isles and atolls scattered all the way from Papeete to Port Moresby and from Rarotonga to Rabaul, have come for the first time to be a part of the known world. That is to say, the average person, who a dozen years ago could not have located Nukualofa or Port Vila or Salamaua even if Papeete or Noumea or Suva, is now familiar with Borabora and Aitutaki and Espiritu Santo. Thousands of American servicemen have been in them all. To the geographical knowledge gained through laborious study of atlas and encyclopedia while these were fighting areas or advance bases is now added an intimate knowledge of the native social life and habits provided in the stories of those who have spent two or three years there.

THE impact of the white man upon the South Sea Islanders and their indigenous culture came with an added force inasmuch as it was soon clear even to the most primitive "him-fella-black-boy" of New Guinea or the Solomons that he was being saved either from an unpleasant end or from a life of ignominious servitude. The Japanese, having made their usual immediate and fundamental blunder of harsh oppressiveness instead of conciliation and kindliness, soon instilled bitter hatred into the mind and heart of the native of the western Pacific. In no more than a matter of weeks he was our ally to the death and he has served us in a hundred ways where no white man could have duplicated him.

Figures may never be adduced to show the worth of his services to the people on our side in the Southwest Pacific; how he found in the jungle, succored and brought to safety many "bushed" soldiers; how he traced fliers who had crashed or had been forced down in regions out of which they never could have found their way; how in espionage, spying and scouting in the terrible jungles of New Guinea and the Solomons his services were beyond reckoning; and how he made many a sacrifice often that of his life, to aid in one way and another "big-fella-white-marster." And it will be well, and a trifle in the way of recognition, if the white man abandons for all time that phrase as it relates to his intercourse with the native peoples of the southwest Pacific.

The aftermath in the South Seas is less concerned, though, with the blacks of the western islands than it is with the Caucasian Polynesians. It is in their greater intelligence and different cultural concepts that the germs of unrest and changing objectives are incubating. The black, the Melanesian, coming down from the Asiatic mainland long after his more energetic and ambitious predecessors, is of course a "primitive" though that fact in no degree relieves us of concern for his future

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Marc T. Greene is a roving newspaperman whose special beat is the Orient, where he has been a correspondent for newspapers in the United States and elsewhere. He sat out part of this war as an internee of the Japanese in Manila.

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welfare. He is, at present anyway, one of the heaviest parts of the white man's burden.

IN his "tame" state he has worked in the western Pacific on European plantations, mainly copra, for many generations. In recent years this has been under an indenture system that, in principle, has been much criticized. In fact, it has not laid a burden upon the blacks. Coming out of the "bush," they have entered voluntarily upon a contract of three or five years, and have been provided with housing, food, medical care and a few dollars a month in money. They could not, of course, terminate their contracts lawfully. Few have done so unlawfully and it has happened many times that, the contract having expired, they have gone back to the bush only to return in a few months, half-starved and covered with tropical sores, anxious to be hospitalized as may be necessary, and then to enter upon another indenture.

This condition prevails throughout New Guinea, all the area under Australian Mandate since 1919, and some of the British protectorates in the Western Pacific. Its continuation will be insisted upon and, with perhaps some expansion of the terms of indenture, there are no tangible grounds for opposition. The blacks themselves will certainly not oppose it, and though they, too, have had some experience with easy dollars and extravagant movies, their slow mentalities will soon forget, especially if their material condition under the indenture system is somewhat advanced.

BUT to refer to the Polynesian as a "primitive" race, as has not infrequently been done by writers ignorant both of ethnology and of the real character of Polynesian culture, is merely to insult Stevenson's "sweetest people God ever made."

The Polynesian groups include the French Establishments Français de l'Oceanie, better known as the Society Islands (Tahiti), the Marquesas, the Tuamotu archipelago of coral atolls, the Gambiers, the Australs, and scattered isles and atolls; the British Cook Islands, Western Samoa, the semi-independent kingdom of Tonga (the Friendly Islands), the Ellice Group of atolls, the Tokelaus, the big atolls of Penrhyn and Manihiki, many other scattered islands including the aforesaid Rotuma and Rennells, one or two of the Fiji group, and Niue, Niafou ("Tin-can Island"); and American Samoa.

Hardly any of these has known the impact and influence of modern civilization as revealed in the presence, the activities and the habits of American and British soldiers. In some the appearance of any white man at all has been a rarity for generations. Suddenly out of the blue—very literally out of the blue—the white man appears in his hundreds and thousands. The previously-encountered European had been very chary with his money and usually aloof in his manner. But now the precise contrary is the case. The man in uniform tenders a ten-dollar-bill for a spurious grass-skirt and says airily "keep the change," the result being that presently there is no "change" for anything. He thoughtlessly hands a carton of cigarettes to a ten-year-old boy who fawns upon him, and very soon every boy in the islands gets into the habit of fawning upon every man in uniform. He even distributes money gratuitously and it is beneath the dignity of his soldier's calling to deal in anything but paper currency.

In this way the soldier on leave, with several months' pay burning a hole in his pocket, becomes to the islander the interpreter of the outside world, the symbol of its life. Unfortunate, maybe, but inevitable. The soldier on leave from the battlefront must divert himself, and the native must conclude that his ways in that diversion are the ways of the world he comes from. The soldier passes on, but the impression he leaves behind him does not fade, probably never will fade.

The result is political, economic and social. Also moral, though it is unnecessary to go into that. As to the first, the native—especially in groups like British Samoa where a kind of nationalist movement has been germinating ever since New Zealand replaced Germany in control—hears a lot about "freedom" and free peoples. Being far more intelligent than a good many ill-informed folk believe, he listens closely and ponders long and deeply, having ample leisure therefor. His dissatisfaction with alien rule deepens. Why should he, of a race that was here and in full possession for centuries ere the white man ever heard of the Pacific, be under dominance? This is particularly true of Samoa, where years of bickering and intrigue by three powers trying to gain influence gave the islander an expanded and disproportionate idea of the importance of his land.

ECONOMICALLY, having acquired an entirely new notion of relative values, the native who works for the white man at copra-produc-

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tion, fruit-growing, shell-gathering, or road-building, today resents more than ever a wage-scale that averages sixty or seventy cents a day. This resentment is greatly accentuated by the recollection of the lush days of American whole or partial occupation, when five or six pounds a week was not uncommon. From all of which one thing at least is apparent. The days of "cheap native labor," or perhaps more aptly expressed, the days of white profiteering at the expense of the islander—are drawing to a close.

Unsettled social conditions are closely linked up with the economic confusion of the aftermath. Where a native economy has been uprooted and thrown into chaos it must follow that social life is wrenched from its equilibrium. The tranquillity, the undisturbed and easy-going South Seas existence of yesterday, very little changed indeed by the First World War, which was to most visitors the really appealing thing about the islands and the island folk, may be disappearing forever as these lands come within the orbit of so-called civilization. True, Loti and Gauguin and Stevenson and such "eccentric" persons insisted that here, in this carefree and communal life with its freedom from want and competitive strife, was the real civilization.

However that may be, it seems a pity to uproot it, as this war has indubitably done. The island folk were not ready for the world. Nothing in their tradition or psychology or life-philosophy had prepared them for it. Moreover, what they have seen of the world, as a result of the war and through contact with unreal motion pictures and free-spending reckless youth disregarding all normal rules of conduct, has given them an altogether mistaken and distorted conception of it. An Alice-in-Wonderland world they have seen, a passing thing born of abnormality and abandon, yet they take it for real and it bewilders while yet it entrances.

IN respect to female chastity the Polynesians are rarely commercially-minded, but they are exceedingly generous, affectionate and sensual. In British Samoa alone, there are today some 900 "illegitimate" babies, more on the way. Thus social abandonment complicates the economic problem, since war conditions have brought about not only a 100-per cent increase in the cost of imported essentials but also have cut down very materially native production of staple foods. Much carefully cultivated growth has been abandoned and the fast-growing bush and jungle have reclaimed it. Hard labor will be necessary to restore anything like normality in local production all over the South Seas. For that labor, except strictly on their own behalf, the natives are going to demand more than sixty cents for a ten- or twelve-hour day.

The South Sea Islanders have gained a new idea of the importance of their lands. They have seen the white man come in tens of thousands and in frantic haste and with stunning energy convert island after island into camp and fortress. Obviously when the white man faces difficulties he finds the islands and their folk of great value. Exactly why that should be the case is not altogether clear to the native, but the fact is obvious even to the dullest. Pondering this long and gravely, in circles of wise elders about coconut-husk fires in a hundred native villages, the conclusion has been reached that the South Sea Islands are an important part of the world and so should share in the things of that world. What it all adds up to mainly is this: the policy of the white man in respect to the islands must be completely reoriented. Their people should not be "kept down" by controlling powers, as the aggressive Samoans have ever accused New Zealand of trying to do. The custom of making the islands a kind of dumping ground for political, social and economic misfits, as the French have done in Tahiti for generations and New Zealand in Samoa for a quarter of a century, should in particular be abandoned as an affront to the intelligence and character of the Polynesian indigenes.

The economic and cultural attitude of the controlling powers toward the natives should be altered in two fundamental ways. The unskilled laborer should be paid a living wage proportionate to the war-increased cost of existence and to the wage-scale in the land of the controlling power, taking into consideration the difference in living standards and availability of native staples. And the islander, the youth, should be provided with greatly advanced educational facilities, likewise opportunities to avail himself of the result. Today there is deplorable lack of the former, alarming absence of the latter. If the education is along "white collar" lines the controlling power should provide amply for the student in its own country; when that is impracticable, in the colony. If the education is technical, as it must be for the most part, it will be invaluable in the large-scale agricultural expansion that should be immediately undertaken in all the volcanic groups of the South Seas.

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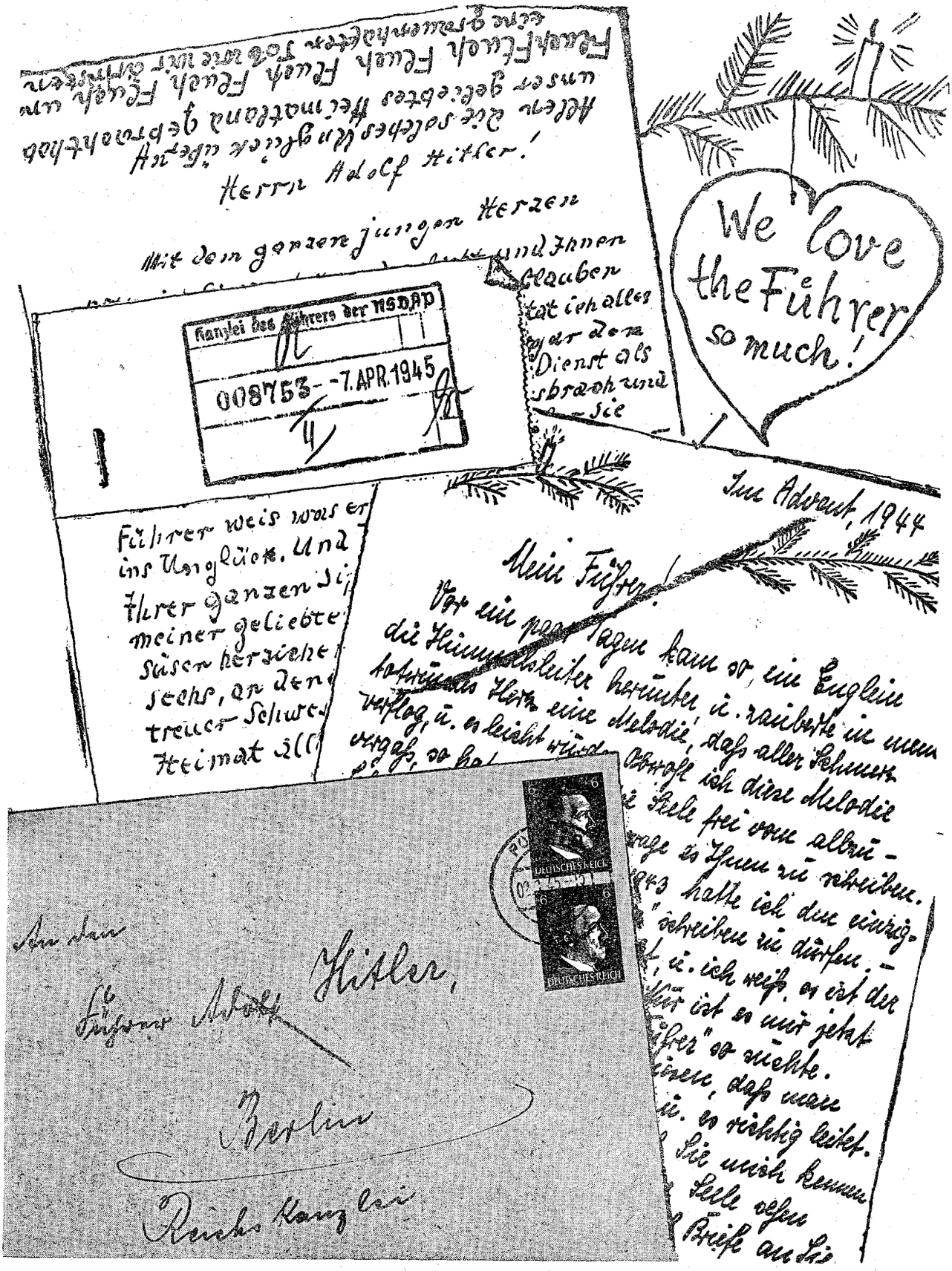

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Love letters to Hitler

Some of Adolf Hitler's private correspondence was seized by American troops, and out of the thousands seized here are a couple of mash notes. But notice that the tone changes with the dates. The one in 1944 is still hysterical adulation. The one dated three weeks before the great collapse is not. Its note is curses, curses, curses and more curses.

How far does this represent the servility of that kind of German who was willing to accept all the evils of war while winning—but unable to accept the prospect of defeat?

The drawing of a heart with the inscription "We love the Fuehrer so much" was copied from one of the letters, its inscription only having been rendered into English.

And please note German efficiency—the last letter containing the curses, was carefully indexed on receipt in the Reichs Chancellery, even though Zhukov and Eisenhower were pounding at Berlin's gates.

(the week before Christmas, 1944)

Mein Fuehrer:

A few days ago a little angel came down from heaven on a heavenly ladder and he put into my wounded heart a melody, so that all pain was gone and my heart was glad again. I have forgotten the melody, but now my soul is free from all its torments and I dare to write to you.

Last Christmas I had only one wish—to be allowed to write to you, my Fuehrer. Now it is Christmas again, and the wish is even more torrid. But now I know why I was searching for you, *mein Fuehrer.* One day has shown me that you should always follow your inner feeling, and that you are always right if you follow it. I am absolutely confident that you know me. I know that you can read the bottom of my soul.

During the last year I wrote you five letters to your Chancellery in Berlin. Each and every letter was a holy hour. The hours when I wrote them were the most beautiful hours of the whole year, although I started the first one at home and had to finish it in another place. Once when I was writing the letter the windows of the room were wide open, and the Kreuzer Sonata and Beethoven surrounded me while dark clouds covered the sky. My heart was full of indescribable anxiety. But then I took refuge with you.

Since that day I have remained sad. I didn't laugh any more, I didn't sing, I didn't jump about. Only once there was a deep miracle in me like a very deep happiness—the happiness that makes you silent and makes you wonder in disbelief. It happened on the afternoon of July 20, about 4:00 p.m. I went shopping with my little daughter Ingrid, but then I returned and listened to the radio and heard the unbelievable news of the bomb attack against the Fuehrer. Everything became stone in me. Since then I haven't been able to eat.... Because the blood of my heart has grown together with yours, that is the reason why I feel everything so strongly with you, and I have to tell it to you once more, dear, dear Fuehrer. And that's the reason why I ask your office to forward this letter. I am sure a lot of people write you and certainly you can't read all these letters . . .

I have only one wish. Please, please, dear Fuehrer, it is my only wish for Christmas—no one must know it. Let me write to you. I know that it will not be easy to send me an answer officially through the Party, but I have paid my Party dues promptly up to December, to the N.S.D.A.P. in Hanover . . .

The next Christmas will not be a happy one, but the stars in heaven will be brighter because we know that the greatest man of all who ever stepped on this earth was close to us, and I believe that many people will be more grateful than they have ever been before . . .

Heil mein Fuehrer.

Your MARIE LUISE DREYER.

(Received: Chancellery of the Fuehrer, April 7, 1945)

TO MR. ADOLF HITLER!

With my whole young heart I had loved and venerated you and have had the fullest confidence in you, my Fuehrer. No one could have taken from me my trust in you. I have done whatever you decided was best for me to do. . . . I even worked as a stable maid.

When the war started, and many people were dissatisfied, I always answered, "our Fuehrer knows what he is doing. He will not lead us into misfortune." And today, thanks to you, and your whole gang—I am an orphan. I have lost my beloved parents and my sweet, golden-hearted brothers and sisters—six of them, whom I loved with a full heart in truest sisterly fashion. I have no home, and am completely alone.

How can a man who intends to conquer the whole world bring us such terrible misfortune? How can one still love and venerate such a man? Three times my dearest Mommy was bombed out, and three times she had to take flight with the six little children, and in Dresden she was finally killed. She was there trying to reach me because she didn't know where to go. She suffered most horribly, and finally died there. How can you answer to your conscience for the things you have done? You have driven millions of people from their homes with a cold heart. You have seen how millions of people have been murdered, not only on the battlefield but also in their homes. No soldier has the wish to fight any longer. The Party members are slackers, so is my boss. You should send all these people out to the front and they should lose their lives as my dear father did in Italy.

Who will now take care of me? God will pay you back. My whole love has turned to hatred, hatred and more hatred. To all who brought such *horrible misfortune to our beloved country, curse, curse, curse, curse, curse, curse, and a most horrible death, just as we poor ones have suffered.*

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Scientists have no illusions

by RICHARD D. PRESENT

Dr. Present has worked on the atom bomb since 1943. He is now a member of the Executive Committee of the Association of Manhattan Project Scientists.

Here is a voice from among the men who know most about atom bombs and atomic energy. Dr. Present refutes much of the loose talk and redirects much of the loose thinking about atomic power . . .

SHORTLY after the first atomic bombs were dropped on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there arose spontaneously at each of the four sites where the bomb was developed an association of scientists who felt it important to bring their views before the public. The Association of Los Alamos Scientists, the Association of Oak Ridge Scientists, the Atomic Scientists of Chicago, and the Association of Manhattan Project Scientists of New York City subscribed to almost identical aims and objectives, and their total membership includes nearly all the American scientists who worked on the bomb. These associations have now been amalgamated into a national organization known as the Federation of Atomic Scientists with the purpose of informing the public of the tremendous implications of our discoveries. We have thought longer about these matters than the layman or even the international expert was in a position to do, and we have come to certain conclusions of social, political and military importance.

We have created a new weapon whose destructive power is almost incomparably greater than that of any previous weapon and which is capable of technological improvement. The Hiroshima bomb already is obsolete. It is possible to destroy a city as large as Washington with a few well-placed atomic bombs, and it would be interesting to speculate what the consequences would be if the President, his Cabinet and the Congress were to disappear overnight. It is important to realize that atomic explosives can be used in a variety of ways, that they can replace ordinary explosives in mines, guided missiles, stratosphere rockets, etc. It is impossible to devise defensive techniques which could assure our cities of protection from all conceivable carriers of atomic explosives. Even if a specific defense were developed against a particular carrier, we must recognize that a resourceful enemy could develop counter-defensive techniques or employ other carriers. A defense that was ninety percent effective could not save our cities from sudden annihilation. A defense is not found for every offensive weapon; millions of soldiers were killed by ordinary bullets in the last war. A weapon usually becomes obsolete when a more effective weapon is developed. That our cities cannot be saved from annihilation in the next war has been repeatedly pointed out by eminent scientists, and the public should beware of press releases that convey a false sense of security.

THE technique of blitzkrieg is advanced to a new level by atomic weapons and the advantage is with the aggressor. The Pearl Harbor attack which destroyed a large part of our Pacific fleet may be dwarfed in the future by a lightning attack in which one-quarter of the civilian population, the major part of our industry, the Panama Canal, and many important military installations are suddenly destroyed. This may be even a conservative estimate of the damage that could occur before we were in a position to retaliate, if retaliation were any longer possible. Since the number of bombs of the Hiroshima type required for a decisive stroke against even the greatest nation does not exceed a few thousand, it is clearly futile for a nation to accumulate a greater supply. This "saturation" property of atomic armaments will reduce all nations great or small to military equality, other things being equal. The military position of a country is then determined not by the number or quality of its bombs but by other factors such as the geographical concentration of its population and industry. In this respect the United States is particularly vulnerable. The new order of magnitude of the destructive potential makes a qualitative change in the nature of warfare: the relations between nations come to resemble those between individuals armed with guns in

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the sense that a mortal wound can be administered at the outset of hostilities, and that only a small number of bullets or bombs are needed to destroy an enemy.

The next question to consider is how long the United States can maintain its present monopoly in the manufacture of atomic bombs. The fundamental scientific knowledge, both theoretical and experimental, is the common property of scientists of all nations. The exploitation of this knowledge to make an atomic bomb is a straightforward process which took the scientists of the United States, Great Britain and Canada a little over four years to carry out. In view of our own success and the publication of many details of the methods we used in the official Smyth Report, any competent group of scientists and engineers in other countries could reproduce or improve on our blueprints in considerably less than four years without any assistance from us. Nearly all details of our methods are known to the British scientists who worked with us, and some scientists of other nationalities who assisted us have already left this country. At the present time the production of atomic bombs requires an access to supplies of uranium and a few other strategic materials and the possession of considerable industrial resources and available power. The power requirement can, however, be very considerably reduced and the manufacturing simplified. Uranium is a common element widely distributed over the globe and most countries probably have some uranium ore available even if it is not of high grade. The informed consensus is that other major powers will have atomic bomb plants in about five years, and both Britain and the U.S.S.R. sooner. Some of the smaller powers and a re-emergent Germany and Japan might catch up in about ten years. However, even one or two bombs in the hands of a small aggressive power might be sufficient to produce very serious consequences.

TURNING now from the military to the industrial aspects of atomic power, the picture is superficially brighter. Unquestionably the use of atomic power can bring great benefits to mankind in a world free from the threat of war. The development for industrial purposes need take only a few years. Atomic power lends itself to large-scale use, e.g.: power plants, but is not feasible for small-scale use, e.g.: in automobiles or airplanes. Atomic power plants would be a great boon to areas where coal is scarce and hydroelectric power unavailable. However, it is important to realize that the "chain-reacting piles" in such plants would necessarily produce plutonium as a by-product and plutonium is an atomic explosive. Because atomic power plants can be rapidly converted to wartime use, their development would create very serious problems.

In the foregoing I have attempted to state the problem that confronts the world because of the advent of atomic power. It is not a problem in science but one in human relations, and its solution requires the understanding and good-will of people all over the earth and the greatest wisdom from their leaders. We, the scientists who made the bomb, are frequently asked what should be done about it. When scientists begin to touch on matters outside their province, there is bound to be a divergence of views. Nevertheless, in this instance we are in overwhelming agreement. Since the defense of the United States can no longer be secured by itself alone, and since the price of victory in the next war may be the loss of half our civilian population, it is necessary to bring about genuine international cooperation and to set up effective international machinery to keep the peace. The present course of drifting along will certainly lead to a major world catastrophe. It has been suggested that we might attempt to guarantee American security by a preventive conquest of other nations which are potential rivals. This would have to be undertaken immediately to have any chance of success. Certainly, at the present time the overwhelming majority of the American people would not consent to a war of aggression. The few cynics who favor this course of action must recognize that several years of relentless propaganda and indoctrination of the youth were required before even Nazi Germany could embark on its program of world conquest. Within a couple of years, however, the other great powers will have atomic armaments and it will then be too late. Thus a policy of preventive conquest is not only morally untenable but virtually impossible of realization.

THE scientists are in agreement that the United States will forfeit its moral leadership if it does not take immediate steps to place atomic energy developments under international inspection and control. A mere agreement to renounce atomic weapons will not prevent their use in a future war. A policy of non-cooperation will force other countries to develop atomic bomb plants as rapidly as possible, and an atomic armaments race will ensue. An international commission of experts,

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created by the major powers, must have the right of free access to all of their territory and admission to laboratories, plants, etc. Other peace-loving nations should be invited to join. Nations refusing to cooperate with the commission must be inspected by the United Nations police force and their production facilities for atomic energy destroyed. When a member nation evades or violates the rules agreed upon this must be interpreted as an act of aggression. These are rough ideas the details of which will have to be worked out by experts. The problem is a much broader one than international control of atomic energy; all measures must be taken to prevent another war. Nothing less than world government can accomplish this.

borrowed time

by MICHAEL STRAIGHT

. . . following the great presentation of Dr. Present's scientist's viewpoint on atomic energy, here is the plea of an intellectual for a human understanding of what men have done—and it is a plea for humans to consider what they should do . . .

I WAS in my bunk at a B-29 training base when the bomb fell on Hiroshima. In time too short to measure one hundred thousand people were vaporized. For a little longer I—like everyone else—thought that I was safe at last. Then we understood that we had never lived in greater danger.

For three months we have been living on borrowed time.

It is vital that all peoples should understand this. It is vital that we should tremble in fear. But fear alone, if it is not directed to positive, intelligent action, may cause schizophrenia, paralysis, then violent reaction such as imperialism and saber rattling, leading to war.

What action can we offer? It is along these lines.

There is no national security today. There is no national security for America in building a national defense program around our possession of the atomic bomb because America is not now, nor can it be, the sole possessor of the knowledge and the facilities for producing atomic energy. French, Soviet, British and Commonwealth scientists share most of our knowledge and, in the absence of a world agreement, must undertake to produce atomic energy. Far from being ahead of other nations we would be at a grave disadvantage in an atomic arms race. We are a democracy, and the bomb is an aggressive weapon, the weapon of an authoritarian government, striking without warning. We are a highly industralized country, with great concentration of population; the bomb is a weapon best used against countries like ours. We may be able to produce more atomic bombs than other nations but endless production is not needed. There is a saturation point at which several great nations possess enough bombs to destroy the cities of their enemies. From this point on, advantage in an atomic arms race is gained by dispersion. This race we shall lose.

The only security today is world security. But world security today means more than the collective security offered by the Covenant of the League, and the charter of the UNO.

Collective security means the prevention of aggression by the threat of collective action against any aggressor nation. The threat of collective action was effective only if the collective force of the peace-loving nations far exceeded the force of a would-be aggressor. And since the authority of the enforcing agency was a derived and not an original authority, its machinery could be enforced only if the will to enforce it existed in the peace loving nations.

Today, the members of the UNO acting together cannot threaten the United States, or the Soviet Union with an overpowering superiority of armed force.

And today the decisive advantage which atomic energy offers to the aggressor forbids us to offer to nations the choice of preventing or permitting war. We can no longer afford to say "the machinery is there *if* the nations decide to use it." Ten million monuments have been raised to that *if* in the last ten years.

World security today requires direct action by world organization, in attacking the causes of war and in enforcing peace. It requires as a first step, that no nation develop atomic energy as a weapon of war. This means in turn, a world inspection force, able to enter every laboratory, every factory, every power plant and every storage facility in every country. It means the fullest interchange of scientific research. It means that in every nation the withholding of information about the misuse of atomic energy should be a criminal offense.

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If no nation produces atomic energy for any purpose, then this inspection force might provide security. But if nations produce stockpiles of Uranium 235 and plutonium for industrial purposes, these stockpiles may be able to be diverted to military production in less time than is needed for an inspection force to discover the diversion, to report it, and to convince the United Nations that armed intervention is necessary.

But the study and development of atomic energy and its utilization for peaceful purposes cannot be prevented for long. It requires the further security of a substantial measure of disarmament, and the creation of a world armed force. At best it should not be an atomic force because atomic weapons are indiscriminate destroyers of life. But a world force cannot be effective if it is denied the weapons available to national forces. Atomic weapons may not be police weapons. But at a time when a government can devastate a peaceful nation in a single attack it is not intelligent to maintain that peoples cannot be held responsible for the actions of their governments. The little man, who takes no part in politics, who obeys orders, who is misled by his superiors, may be a fatally dangerous character in an atomic age.

Does world security demand world government? If these measures are necessary then world government is necessary in a limited sphere. The creation of an inspection force does not demand the amendment of the Charter. It may be done by protocol, as Dr. Benes and M. Politis proposed to the Geneva Protocol: "to make war impossible . . . to kill it, to annihilate it." But the further creation of an armed force would require the amendment of the Charter. For the extension of the military power of the UNO would necessitate a parallel extension of its civil powers in the creation of an executive with original power, a representative assembly, a court with compulsory jurisdiction if the military power were not to be irresponsible power.

And clearly, world security requires that the world organization be truly universal, and that it consist entirely of peace loving nations. Fascist governments, such as the Spanish and Argentine governments have no place in or out of the United Nations. As signatories of the Atlantic Charter, on which the San Francisco Charter was built we "respect" the rights of all peoples to governments of their own choosing. We should "assert" this right.

World security may be our only security; but today it is inexistent as a working system. All peoples demand security. In the absence of a working world system, they will continue to seek national security, however illusory it may be. There is a very immediate danger that in the efforts of national security to hold onto its failing grip upon life, world security may die fighting for the right to be born.

France is demanding an air force of 3,200 planes. Yugoslavia maintains an army of a million men. Britain is restoring by force an outworn colonial empire. The U.S.S.R. is creating a great navy. We are considering peacetime conscription. We are debating legislation which may cut down free scientific discussion and transfer great civil power indirectly to the War Department. We are asserting our exclusive right not only to islands once held by Japan, but to Australian mandates. We are preparing to spend $500,000 on the development of atomic energy in 1946 without any international agreement as to its use. In the face of these sources of fear and hostility, what can an UNRRA team in Taranto, or an observer in Budapest do to create a will for world unity?

Our domestic and our world policies should be related. Clearly the first step is to agree on the control of atomic energy. Yet for us to advance with the bomb in one hand and a plan for its control in the other would be, in effect, a declaration of war. We need a conference, initially of Canada, Britain, the USSR, and ourselves at which plans may be exchanged, and passed on to the UNO.

Finally, *if we are to strengthen the United Nations Organization in the future, we must respect it as it exists today.*

As a concept for which we have fought, as the only common meeting ground that we possess, the UNO is today unutterably precious to all of us.

The Soviet Union weakened the UNO by its unilateral elections in eastern Europe. Britain weakened it by the misuse of UNRRA personnel. We weakened it when we cut off Lend Lease aid without warning; when we withheld loans from the USSR; when we attempted to rule Japan singlehanded. And these nations are not alone to blame for the weaknesses of the UNO. All nations are to blame, which, in the name of the right to free action, are undermining the right to live.

Lloyd George called these years "the broken waters beneath the great falls." If we are to move ahead we must first return to the concept of the United Nations of Franklin Roosevelt. We are living on borrowed time, and time is running out.

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WATCH ON THE RHINE

by Richard de Rochemont

Richard de Rochemont, Producer of March of Time, *and President of* France Forever, *has just returned from a tour of occupied Europe.*

THOSE of us who have had a glimpse of the Germany of Allied Occupation today find small cause for rejoicing. Though the four occupying powers should have one thought and one basis for their permanent policy—the total elimination of the German war potential—the manner of each power's interpretation leads to the conclusion that something has gone wrong.

To eliminate the German power to make war is one thing. Merely to redistribute that power is something else again. Most of the world, on V-E Day, subconsciously thought that we had achieved the former, and that a determinable amount of aggressive force would, as a result, be removed from the chess-board of the nations. Instead, we appear to have achieved a mere attempt at redistribution of this aggressive power.

Much of what went into the German war machine of the last decade will never be needed again. Our action in scuttling the hulks of a few battleships, melting bombers into saucepans, dumping the bombs of the Luftwaffe into the sea, is comparable only to the gesture of one who in disgust tears up a losing pari-mutuel ticket when the race it over. For the next race new tickets will be issued.

Too much has been written already about what the warfare of the coming atomic age will be like. We may be sure of only one thing —that it will be different, that it will be "psychological warfare" in the most devastating sense.

The German who today slouches arrogantly through the streets of his city in the British, Russian, French or American zone of Germany, perhaps still wearing part of a faded Wehrmacht uniform, has had his cross-bow snatched out of his hands. What does it matter now? He knows that it could never serve him again, and that this sort of disarmament is purely symbolic, simply meant to give the victors the momentary sensation of having accomplished something.

It is not too much, perhaps, to say that in the Europe of today the German is the only person who knows exactly where he stands. With a swiftness which we who were on the outside never realized (since our propagandists had a duty to make the Germans appear as tough and resistant as possible) the German people accepted the apocalyptic revelation that their methods had been wrong. Not their purposes, simply their methods. The let-down was tremendous, but when the Germans hit bottom, and a very low bottom, they knew exactly where they were. Except for a few of the more extravagant figures in the Nazi hierarchy, who by their excesses had marked themselves for the Allied executioners or who had swallowed their cyanide capsules, they were all in the same situation, Hans and Fritz and Greta and Anna, the *Bürgermeister* and the *Feldwebel,* the cook and the professor.

THE German in 1945 finds himself under the nominal control of four nations with four entirely different psychological approaches and four sets of plans for his future. None of them is attractive to him and each is equally distasteful, since it presupposes the negation of the one concept the German accepts, his own superiority over every other breed of human being.

But while the Germans stand together in their poverty and their hatred of their conquerors, they are able to console each other with a new sense of oneness. A small consolation for the inhabitants of a prison, we outsiders may think, but we should also remember that, in that respect, Germany was no less a prison in the time of the Nazi splendor. There was more food and coal then, perhaps, and more parades, but the climate was psychologically the same. . . . Germany against the world.

With a naiveté which is astounding, the United States is now shipping back to the former Reich all the local tinpot Nazis of the type of Fritz Kuhn, former leader of the German-American Bund, who in the course of time will become the leading popular expert on American affairs, and a martyr to boot. Such literary masochists as the ineffable Heinrich Hauser,

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author of the best-selling "The German Talks Back", who has now announced his intention of returning to Germany, can there become a venerable prophet of another *Neue Ordnung*, when German self-commiseration begins to transform itself into something more dynamic and aggressive.

With the best intentions in the world, the Czechoslovak Republic is exporting its *Sudetendeutsche*, purged only of a few such energumenes as Konrad Henlein, Karl Hermann Frank, and Dr. Otto Rabl, to add their real and fancied grudges to the growing German stock of revindications. Instead of trying to draw out of Germany its abscess-forming elements, we are today pouring them back in. It is a fundamental error.

Long before victory was in sight, your servitor had the temerity to relay to the American people the suggestion of a reputable French scientist who proposed that there should be massive exportations of women and girls from Germany to other lands depleted by the war, that these women (if they married or had children by men of these other lands) should not be allowed to send their children back to Germany, that every humane means should be adopted to slow down the German birthrate and to mix the German blood-strain with other and less nationalistic heredities. The suggestion produced among his fellow-Americans a sort of quiet horror, mixed with embarrassment, such as would greet a citizen who came to church in a bathing-suit.

Yet that suggestion is still the only valid one for the final reduction of the German power to make war. German aggressiveness grows basically out of the existence of a massive group of men and women who admire themselves tremendously, gradually work themselves into a frenzy of self-pity and self-adulation, and finally explode in an attempt to make their delusions valid. Since the psychological impact of one German on another will always be more powerful than that of any foreigner on any German, the hope of the re-education of Germans by their guards is an illusion, as is the re-education of Germans by those few of their own nationals who do not share the common neurosis. If their new teachers are not Germans, they will be ridiculed and discredited. If they are Germans, they will be considered as traitors to the German dream and eventually repudiated.

EACH nation took up its part of the work of occupying and reforming Germany with good intentions and some hope. Each has, even today, some faith in its ability to accomplish something in the way of a remedy. Every nation of the four lacks that deep, maniacal conviction of its own rightness which the German feels by instinct. Each nation is bitterly critical of the other, and (in terms which have a faintly familiar German ring to them) such criticisms were often heard as early as at the end of this summer in Berlin. There the four occupying powers meet on almost common ground, but unfortunately have only the Germans as their common denominator. The criticisms most current do not bear repeating, though some of them contain enough half-truth to impress the sentimental, the vain and the fearful. Their German source of inspiration is obvious, and it is obvious the Germans are getting together on their policy of rumor and division.

The Allied Control Council is trying hard to achieve a uniform policy for Germany, and the establishment of a single German government, with limitations, of course, on its powers. Would a psychiatrist recommend that the individual members of a family of neurotics be forced to live together as a therapeutic measure? Would he not be more likely to recommend that they be separated and sent to live with more distant, but saner relatives?

Why do we insist on giving the Germans the very conditions of life which are ideal for the propagation of their national illness after a period of what seems to us to be penitence?

While we bend every effort to bring about German unity, the primary condition for German aggression, the Germans are starting to bring about the opposite, the disunity of their conquerors,—our disunity. When Gretchen invites G.I. Joe home for a little coffee (supplied by Joe) and some *Kuchen* (baked by Gretchen's mamma from the flour Joe scrounged for her), she does not forget to tell him how those awful French, or barbarous Russians, are behaving in the other zones, and how happy she is that she has the protection of a really understanding conqueror with eyes like her late fiancé who was needlessly shot down over London (or Warsaw, or Milan, or Belfort) in that frightful war that need never have taken place if the world had been kind to the Germans. What is told to G.I. Joe is also told, with slight variations, to G.I. Ivan, G.I. Tommy, and G.I. François. And it is not without effect.

Perhaps, before it is too late, some virtuoso of the international conference table will find a formula which will permit us to bring about the disintegration of the German unity, and

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the psychological disarmament of Germany. It must be found before it is too late, before the Germans have disintegrated the United Nations with the efficiency of the dreaded atomic "chain-reaction." To do so, such a statesman will need to find ways to salve our national conscience, appease our various sentimentalities, and at the same time inject into all of us a massive dose of realism. He will have to make it plain that neither carrying away the existing German factories (Russian system), nor giving them new stockholders (British system), nor repairing them (American system), nor letting them rot (French system), will make any difference whatsoever.

We hear too much about what is to be done with German industry, German physical assets, and too little about what is to be done with the Germans themselves. They are the problem. The Watch on the Rhine must be a surveillance of people, not of objects and land, railroads and *Autobahnen*. As things stand today, the Germans are watching *us*, guarding *us*, keeping *us* from going about on lawful and more profitable occupations, such as the organization of a world of freedom and harmony.

When a New York policeman sees a group of loafers with patibulary miens in conference on a street corner, obviously figuring out a dirty deal of some sort, he says to them, "Come on, break it up!" and starts them off in different directions. It is a simple device, but in its small way, it works. The same method should be applied to Germany.

Oust Peron's government

From United Nations Organization

by ALLEN HADEN

Mr. Haden has many years' experience in Latin America as diplomat and newspaper correspondent.

ARGENTINA'S present government must be ousted from the United Nations Organization and government delegates must be refused their seats, until the Argentine government again represents the Argentine people and not a pocket reservoir of German Nazism.

For while both discriminate and uninformed opinion on Latin American affairs has been jarred by recent upsets in Brazil and Venezuela and the spectacular ouster and comeback of Colonel Juan Peron in Argentina, the issues are not the same. While they resemble each other in Brazil and Venezuela, the Argentine case is something else again.

* * *

Argentina's revolution in 1943 had, in the beginning, the aspect of liquidating the Castillo government's illegitimacy, but it soon showed itself as a Nazi (i.e., German N.S.D.A.) diversionary political offensive against the Allies. It lived in hope of a miracle – that somehow the Germans might win in Europe A German officer lectured in Buenos Aires on war's technique three days before the collapse of Berlin, ex-foreign minister Ameghino took special pains to keep informed about German atomic research: if the atom bomb were first used by the Germans, the Argentine government would be saved. It was saved, however, by a miracle of only slightly inferior magnitude when recognized in March 1945 by the State Department and then admitted to the United Nations Organization at San Francisco.

How the Nazis poured money into Argentina to finance this diversionary offensive and to secure for their funds a safe-haven from victorious Allied hands, is told by Luis V. Sommi in his startlingly important book "El Capital Aleman en la Argentina." It is a pity that at least a condensed version has not been published in English.

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Peron's strength

Juan Domingo Peron is the Hitlerian prototype of the pampas. Army colonel, ex-vice-president, minister of war and minister of labor, Peron's career in government has these significant parallels with German Nazism.

(1) He early enlisted the support of certain sections of Argentine labor, gaining control of the *Confederacion General del Trabajo* (General Federation of Workers) by substituting the union leaders with his own stooges. But his true strength among labor has come from decreed salary raises, social security, working hour limitations, etc. He commands an estimated 30 per cent of Argentine labor. (His weakness there is described below).

(2) Peron came back after his one-week ouster with the help of the Argentine equivalent of the terroristic S.S. and S.A., which he had culled from the slums of Avellaneda and La Boca docks.

(3) Censorship, political arrests, tortures in jail, concentration camps, etc., are the method of Nazi enforcement. He used them. These are the garb, not the root, of Nazism.

(4) He commands three regiments in the immediate vicinity of Buenos Aires, perhaps some other army support and the police of Buenos Aires.

(5) He had early support from Argentine industry, similar to Hitler's. He continues to enjoy the support of rich Nazi firms whose life depends on Peron's life in power.

Peron's weaknesses

Peron's weaknesses, however, which point the way for a return to constitutional normality in Argentina are significant:

(1) He no longer has the support of Argentine industry. Though having vastly profited from war-mongering contracts, industry has become frightened of huge budgetary deficits for war materials, and the inevitability of their use in war if their production continues to pour into the hands of an irresponsible megalomaniac such as Peron.

(2) His overall support by labor is described as shaky due to the peculiar psychology of the Latin. The Latin has an intensely developed awareness of personal liberty but is willing to sacrifice the *forms* of political expression such as elections, whose meaning to him and his life is remote. This explains the Latin American's frequent toleration of dictatorship so long as he may damn the government over his coffee cups. Peron has not only eliminated free political functions but people are not permitted to damn the government freely, either at home or in cafes or in the newspapers. The result is that he is estimated to command only a portion of unionized labor, a portion of non-unionized labor and "floaters", and a portion of country laborers.

(3) Nazism defeated in Europe is no longer able to give Peron active, dynamic support. The Nazi cyst in Argentina still endures, but it can be eliminated by the combined action of democratic, run-of-the-street Argentines within Argentina and mobilized opinion outside that country. It can be eliminated by neither alone.

(4) Nazism showed its dismal weakness during the week he was out of power. Nazism has only Peron, and was almost shattered by his ouster. Before it could lift its head, Peron had to be in circulation again. Hence the opposition to Nazism is symbolized and concentrated on defeating Peron.

Peron's test

Peron needs and craves at least a semblance of legitimation at the elections for the presidency scheduled for February 1946. He needs absolutely to stay in power, for otherwise the fantastic embezzlement of government funds by Farrell's and Peron's associates will come to light and they will go to jail.

Peron's formal defeat therefore must be by the Argentine people at the elections, unless they should, by some new miracle, succeed in getting rid of him before that time. This seems doubtful at the moment, for Peron's police control Buenos Aires which means 25 per cent — yes, one-quarter — of the country's population. Armed to the teeth, the police can and will do anything against an unarmed population.

Democratic Argentines are mobilizing themselves within their country and abroad. But international opinion cannot sit idly by. The processes of Nazism in Europe are repeating themselves in Argentina. And it will be the height of folly—from any standpoint taken, including that of cost accounting—if the expenditure of 1,600,000 lives and $200,000,000,000 has failed to teach the United States that Nazism must not be allowed to expand. And yet Nazism grows faster than weeds; the spore of Nazism in Argentina is a live one.

Furthermore, an immediate mobilization of opinion in the United States is required, for *the Argentine government and Peron impede Congressional dispositions on atomic power and atomic bombs.*

All people working, hoping, praying for

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world cooperation must realize that the U. S. Congress cannot deliver to the United Nations Organization, or any of its branches, any information on atomic energy so long as Argentine government delegates have access to that information. To do so would be equivalent to giving it to the German General Staff. It is one thing for friends to associate themselves in international control over such matters. It is suicide to put weapons into the hands of demonstrated enemies.

The Farrell government and Peron represent the first test of the United Nations Organization. The League of Nations died when it refused to smash Japan's Manchurian steal. The UNO will die before it is alive if it refuses to smash the Nazi threat contained in Peron and his associates in Argentina.

Action to be taken

(1) Argentina must be suspended from the United Nations Organization. Argentine government delegates must not be seated at the Preparatory Commission sessions scheduled for December in London.

(2) That suspension must be confirmed at the first meeting of the Assembly in January.

(3) In substitution of Argentine *government* delegates, democratic Argentine citizens in opposition to the government should be appointed as members of the International Secretariat as the peace-loving world's demonstration to the Argentine people that suspension from UNO is not directed against them but only against the usurpers of their government.

(4) This suspension must continue until constitutional normality has returned to Argentina, for which the obvious preliminary conditions are the elimination from power of General Farrell, Colonel Peron, and all their associates.

NOTES ON LATIN AMERICA

The search for legitimacy —Venezuela and Brazil

Venezuela's unfortunately bloody revolution which overthrew the government of General Medina and the bloodless removal of Getulio Vargas in Brazil are essentially moves to liquidate dictatorship, the people's efforts to cleanse themselves of illegitimate government.

Shorn of its overtones of wild shooting, the Venezuelan upset was the removal of the clan of "Andinos", the feudal landowning and military caste which has dominated Venezuelan politics for a century. Both General Lopez Contreras and General Medina are "Andinos" and symbols of "Andino" control. As a purely personal problem, both Lopez Contreras and Medina sought to liquidate the horrors of the Gomez dictatorship; they had sought to bring Venezuelan government closer to its popular, legitimate, sources. General Medina, especially, appeared to be succeeding as the hyphen between the Gomez dictatorship and Venezuelan democracy. Reports from Venezuela will tell the full story later. And in the description of the political forces which worked for his overthrow, there must still be an explanation of oil politics, whose bearing in Venezuela —third largest crude oil producer in the world— has not been satisfactorily shown in this crisis.

Brazil cleans house

An even clearer instance of the throes of liquidating dictatorship is the recent removal of Getulio Vargas from the Presidency of Brazil. When I was in Brazil last year, talk was current that Vargas could only last six months after hostilities ceased in Europe. My informants were almost uncannily accurate. But their prophecy was tempered by the query *Com que roupa?*—In what clothes? Brazilians are an intensely imaginative people. Their question was both literal and figurative. In what clothes indeed?—The frock coat on an outgoing President? In the business suit of a forgotten man? In the ragged disguise of a hunted criminal? Or a shroud?

The formal argument preceding the exit of Vargas was whether elections set for December 2, 1945, should be postponed or not. The Prestes Communists, backing Vargas, wanted deferment of the elections ostensibly that a constitutional convention might more clearly define civil rights in Brazil. General Eduardo Gomez and the National Democratic Union opposed postponement. Their formal reasons camouflaged the unprinted one: Postponement of election meant giving Vargas another period—six, seven, eight months—during which his phenomenal political slickness would be exerted to its utmost for the fulfillment of the single, pathological, *raison d'etre* of Getulio Vargas:—the exercise of power.

Vargas recognized the position of the Army against him as the typical one. The Brazilian Army has never in history plotted or fostered a revolution, and has never failed to head it when it was about to succeed. Gauging the Army's position as the barometer of political weather, therefore, Vargas exited clothed in a comparatively dignified business suit.

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NIGHT PRAYER:

Now I lay me down to sleep,
But Thou my soul couldst never keep
If I should let night blot away
One single debt which I can pay.

With eyes wide open I can know
Every human debt I owe;
With eyes tight shut I might as lief
Debtor be or be a thief.

Dear is this moment if it comes
With decent balancing of sums,
If all which yesterday I did
Eases on the inner lid.

Now I lay me down to sleep
Which any man may have, it's cheap . . .
Now I lay me down instead
To a torment in my bed.

I turn and toss and shall not find
One corner of my bed inclined
To let me have the sleep Thy powers
Cannot yield me for these hours

During which I deem it right
That I should fall asleep tonight
Till I have summoned my own core
To help Thee put an end to war.

And it has been more freshening
Than sleep, this wide awakening:
Man is Thy nature and Thy need.
Not only source Thou art, but seed.

Witter Bynner

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Cooperation for Peace

by Senator Alben W. Barkley

We are glad to present here part of the observations made by the distinguished Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky at the FREE WORLD dinner in honor of the President of Chile. His views on the necessity of reconstruction seem to us particularly important. We hope that legislation will be enacted in this country and all over the world in order to make a truly great effort of reconstruction, particularly for terribly suffering Europe, and that reconstruction may pass from the stage of words to that of acts.

WE have just emerged from the world's greatest and most costly military conflict. I need not here discuss the causes of that conflict. They are known the world over. They revolved around the right of free peoples to have, not only a voice, but a controlling voice, in their affairs, their destiny, their share in the evolution of man's destiny.

During the existence of the war, in its tragic movements from day to day, from island to island, and from continent to continent, it was not difficult for men and nations to work together. We were all headed in one direction. Our superior aim was to bring about the supremacy of democracy and the suppression of autocracy.

The war to preserve these things has been won. It has been a costly war.

We are now in the aftermath of this great world cataclysm. Unless our expenditures in treasure, in blood, and in life shall be in vain, those who have been instrumental in preserving civilization, those who have been united in bringing to boot the enemies of free government, must remain united in the great task which yet faces mankind; the task of reconstruction and readjustment, the task of setting the feet of mankind upon the highway of peace and tolerance and world wide cooperation.

AFTER the conclusion of World War No. 1, and the conclusion of various treaties of peace and of disarmament and international cooperation, all the distressed and downtrodden people of the earth thought they saw the rising of a new sun. They felt the thrill which comes to men who are free for the first time within their recollection. They stood erect to look their fellow men in the face under the influence of proclamations of nations which asserted their concert of action to preserve peace and to advance the cause of human liberty.

We need not now recall the mistakes that were made which frustrated this hope. But we will be foolish indeed if we do not profit by those mistakes; and in our effort to profit by those mistakes, we must remember that no nation has a monopoly on virtue, and no nation enjoys a monopoly on evil intent or evil design.

The inventive genius of mankind has brought all nations to an approximate neighborhood, which makes each and all the next door neighbor of others. Time and space have been eliminated, and this brings us to the serious consideration of whether mankind may be capable of utilizing its inventive genius for peace, for the advancement of civilization, and the elevation of the standards of life, to the same or a greater extent as that to which it has been utilized for the destruction of mankind and his works.

WE have learned that no nation can insulate itself against the influences which prevail throughout the world. No nation can crawl into a storm cellar and feel that it is safe until the storm is past, and that it can emerge thereafter free from the influence or the devastation of the storm which may have passed. We have learned that whatever affects the welfare of one nation, affects the welfare of all nations. While, in my opinion, we have not yet reached the state where we can acclaim or accept the theory of a single world government, we must admit the necessity of world cooperation, world accord, and the tolerance of all nations and all races toward others, to the end that mankind may be able to work out the highest destiny and the highest hope and aspiration of all men and all nations, regardless of their background and their historic antecedents.

Unless we have learned this lesson out of the travail from which we have just emerged, then our sacrifices have been made in vain. I am unwilling to admit that they have been made in vain, and the test of our fortitude no less than the test of our democracy, and the test of our entitlement to the benefits of a world civilization, will be our ability, not only in America, but throughout the world, to work in harmony to organize the world for war, in order that peace might come and remain throughout the world.

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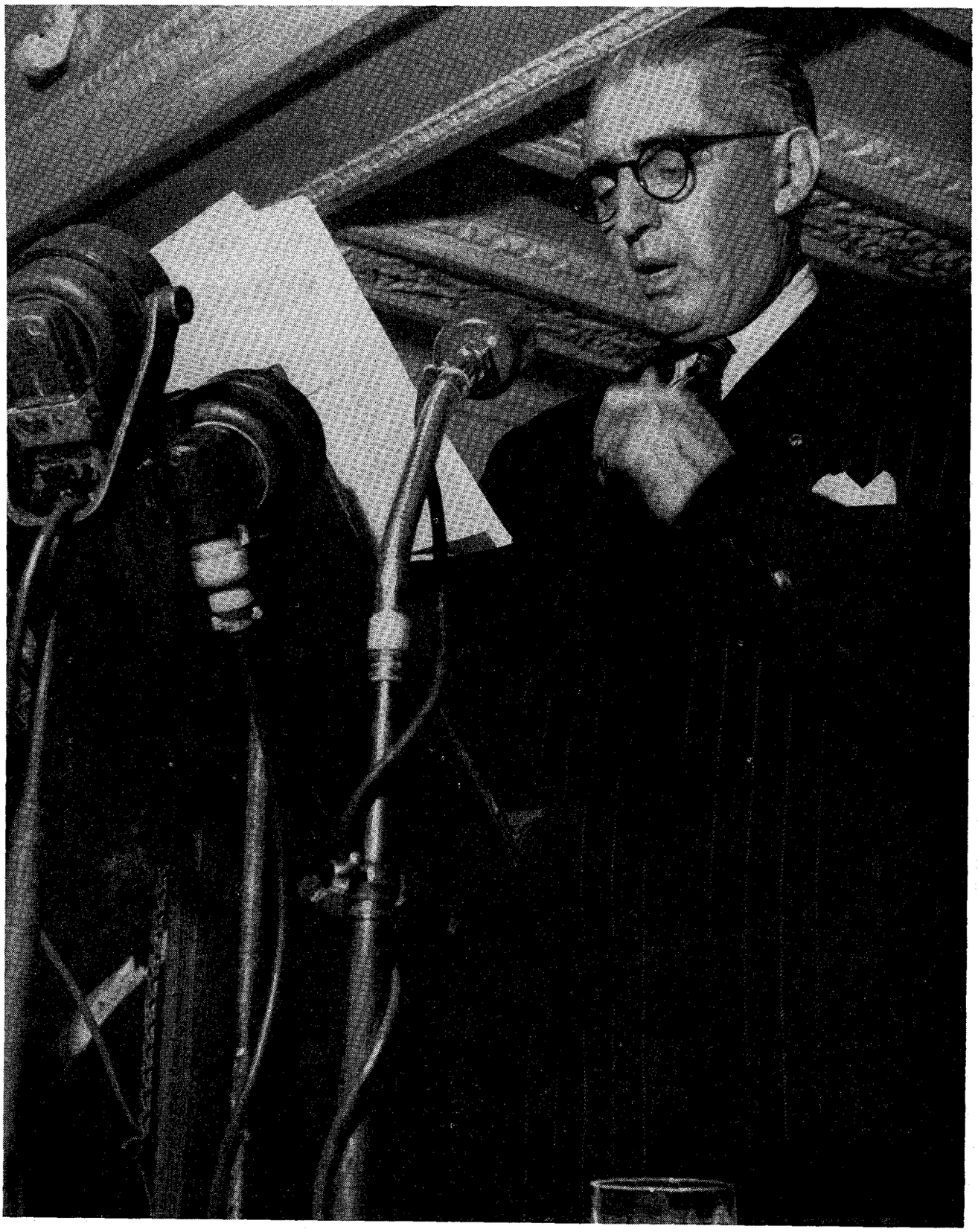
FREE WORLD

in co-operation with democratic and labor organizations gives an international dinner



Dr. Juan Antonio Rios, President of the Republic of Chile, and Honorary Chairman of Chilean Free World Association, addresses FREE WORLD dinner, October 17. *Phot. S. Adelman*

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View of the crowd at the speaker's table and part of the pi

From right to left at the speakers table: Myles Standish, Executive Director of the Free World Association; Michael Straight, author; Stanley Young, playwright; Dr. Enrique De Lozada, Special Assistant to the Coordinator of International Affairs; Father Ford, Dr. Robert C. Johnson, President, Temple University; Col. Ernesto Wurth, Military Aide to President Rios; Nelson Rockefeller, R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers of America; Dr. Yu, Consul General of China; Harold Butler, British Minister Plenipotentiary; Raul Brañes, Marcial Mora, Ambassador of Chile to the United States; Hugh Moore, Chairman, Executive Committee, Free World Association; Dr. Rios, Louis Dolivet, International Editor of FREE WORLD; *Sena-*

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: at the FREE WORLD dinner in honor of President Rios

tor Liadoro Domingues of Chile, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Claude G. Bowers, Ambassador from U. S. to Chile; Boris Shishkin, Director, Economic Department of A.F.L.; Dr. Richard Present, Lt. Carlos Rios, Military Aide to President Rios; Lawrence Duggan, Political Advisor to UNRRA; C. D. Baldwin, Director, PAC; Clark Eichelberger, Director of the United Nations Association; Richard de Rochemont, National President of FRANCE FOREVER; Nancy Wilson Ross, author; John P. Lewis, Editor PM; Lawrence Levy, Member, Board of FREE WORLD.
In the audience are representatives of American labor, business, and religious organizations.

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A rather unusual picture—Nelson Rockefeller in a friendly chat with R. J. Thomas.

Dr. Richard Present, of th Columbia Manhattan Di trict Project, made his fir public speech on the atom bomb, creating a deep in pression on the audienc Dr. Present symbolizes a ne type of scientific leadersh which soon may become political power in the worl

Phot. S. Adelman

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Dr. Clark Eichelberger, Director of the United Nations Association and of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, addresses an audience on international atomic control.

Senator Barkley shakes many hands before reaching the microphone. At the speaker's table next to him is Marcial Mora, Ambassador from Chile to the United States.

R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers, is addressing the audience. He uses both techniques, prepared manuscript and improvisation. His speech is directed particularly against the so-called "non-intervention in internal affairs" which so often has favored fascism. President Rios listens intently as Dolivet translates.

Phot. S. Adelman

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Boris Shishkin, a representative of the A. F. of L., stresses labor's demands for an international organization capable of securing permanent peace.

Michael Straight present some deep thoughts o the intellectual revolutio which has become neces sary because of the di covery of atomic energy

Harold Butler, British Minister to the United States, former Director of the International Labor Office, and Dr. Yu, Consul General of China, discuss the various ideas presented at the dinner.

President of the Club Obrero Chileno of New York presents a Diploma of Progressive Citizenship to Dr. Rios.

From left to right: John P. Lewis, dynamic Managing Editor of PM; Miss Nancy Wilson Ross, writer; and Richard de Rochemont, Director of March of Time and President of France Forever, follow the discussion attentively. Laurence Duggan, at present Political Advisor to U.N.R.R.A. and formerly Head of the Latin American Division of the State Department, renews an old acquaintance with Chilean military and civilian leaders.

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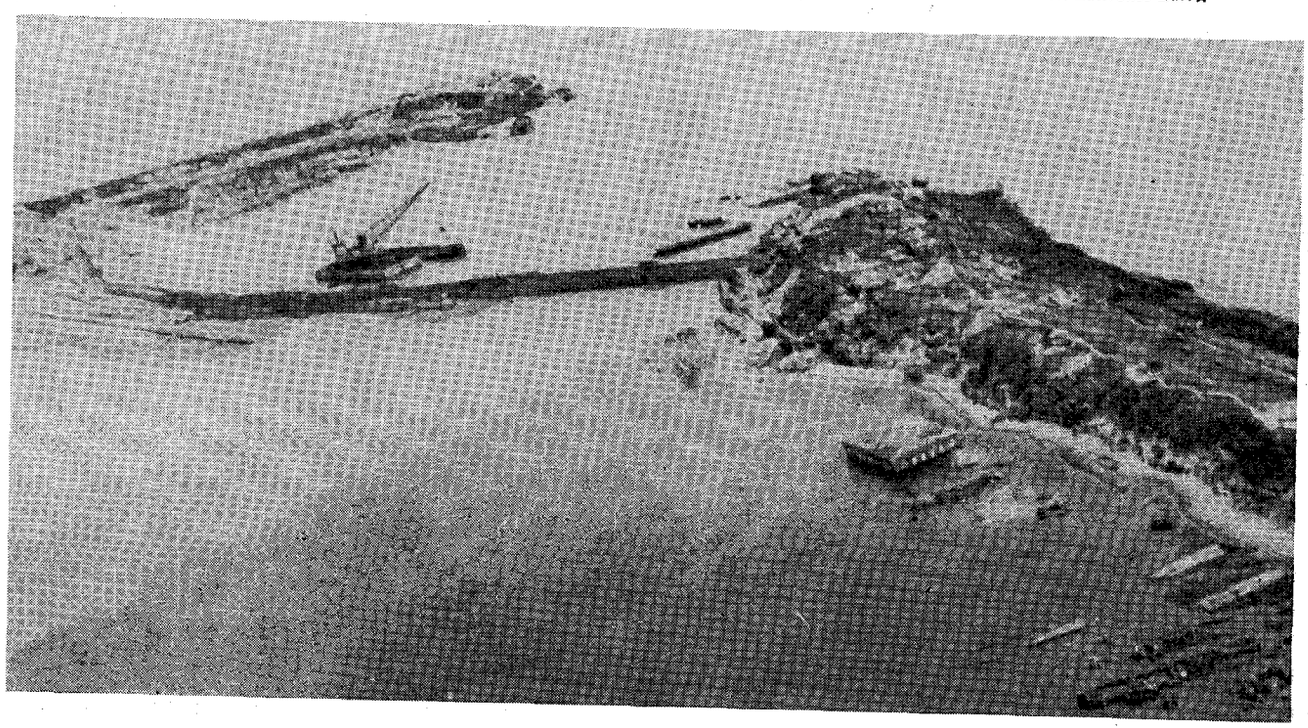
HOLLAND FIGHTS FOR HER LAND

WHAT FOOLS WE MORTALS BE . . .

November 1944: Flash—headlines: great success! Bombs of the British R.A.F. smash great holes in the dikes of the Dutch Island Walcheren. The foaming salt water of the North Sea sweeps in with every rushing tide. Farmland sinks deep under water. (Lower picture.) November 1945, one year later: Flash—headlines: great success! Dutch engineers with the assistance of British officers succeed in closing the gaps in the dikes of the Dutch Island Walcheren. But Dutchmen wonder if their work will last, and if the North Sea will remain their *only* enemy. *Phot. Lawrence Earl*★



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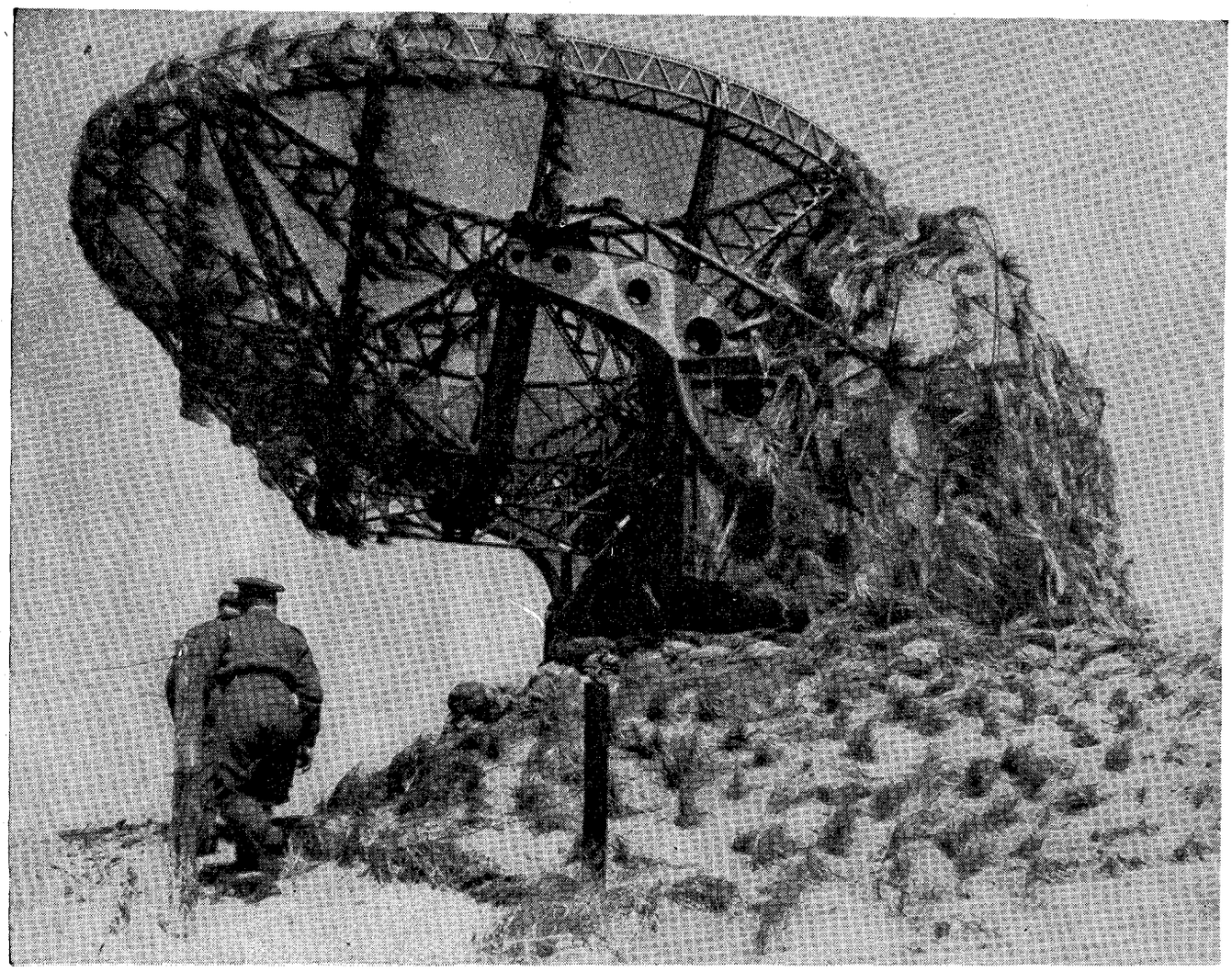

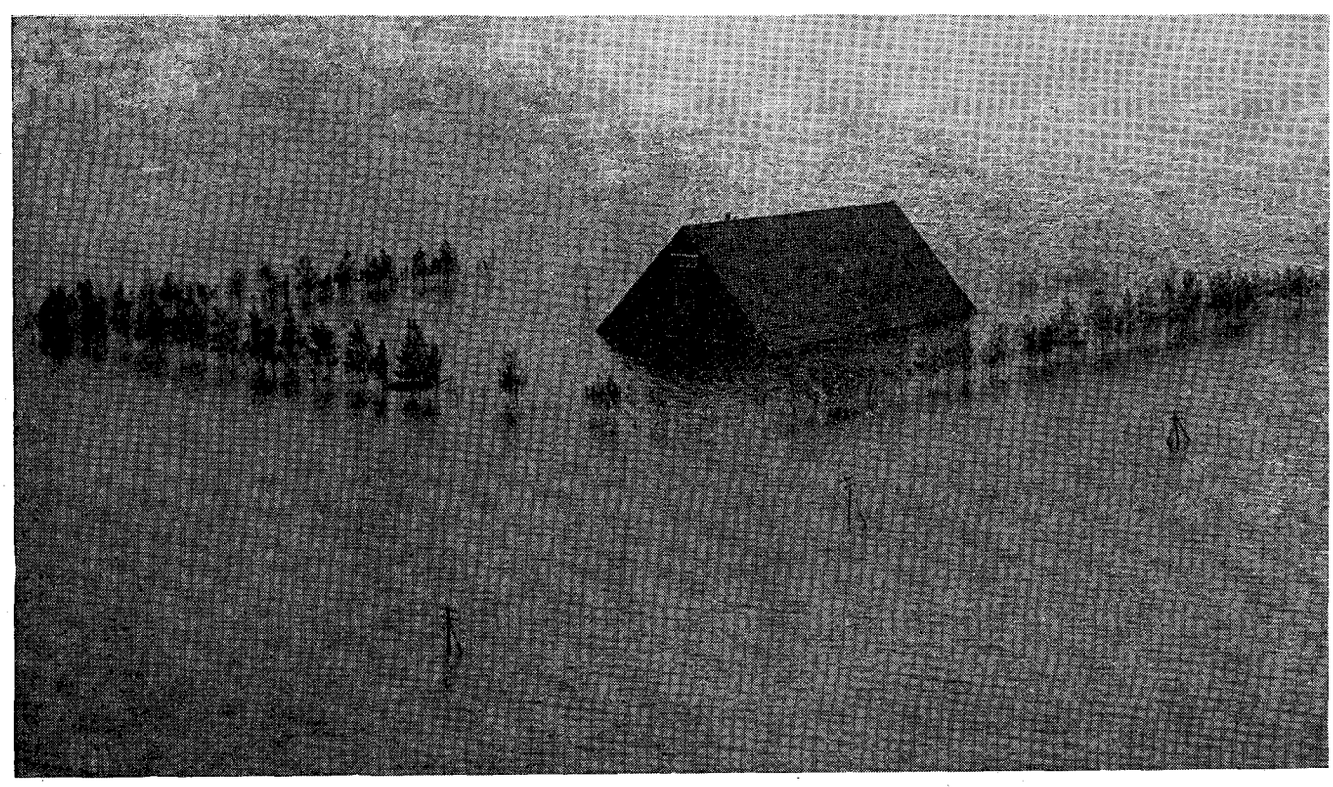

Experts agree that inundation was a military necessity. Flooding seemed the logical answer to the thousands of guns, mines, pill-boxes and bunkers that the Nazis had prepared. In inundated country, such as the lower photo shows, all Nazi defenses became useless. But it was a high price for the Dutch to pay for their liberation. *Official Netherlands Photo.*

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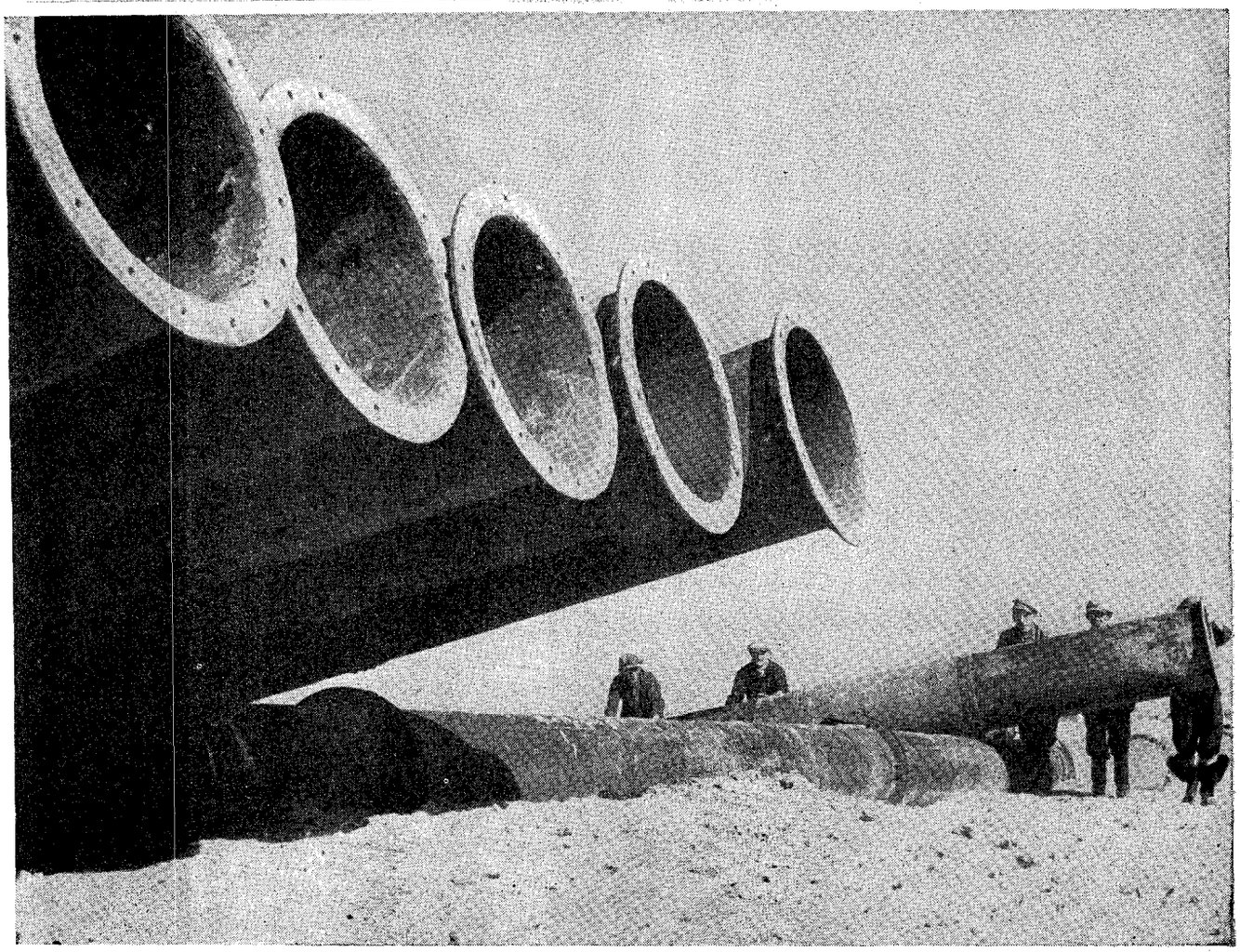
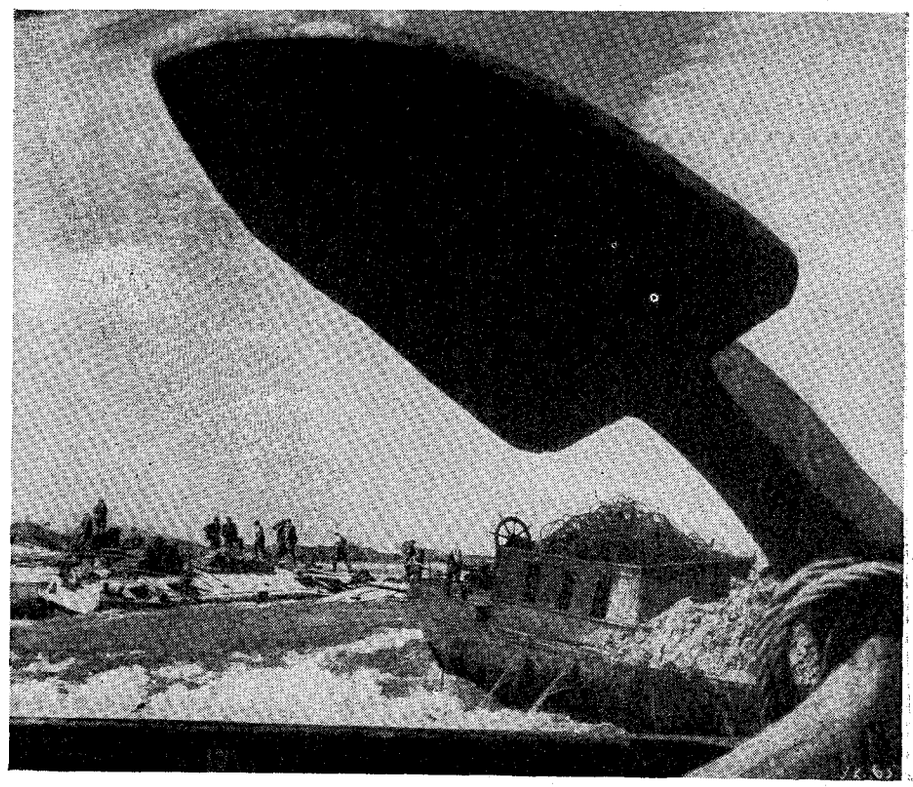


Even before the last Nazis were driven from Holland, preparations for reclaiming the lost country were begun. Huge pump pipelines, consisting of many single parts, were kept ready at strategic points—guns of peace, replacing the weapons of destruction.

"I FIGHT AND EMERGE"

(old Dutch motto)

A mighty race against time is now being waged by a select group of Dutch engineers. Thousands of their countrymen await the outcome of this gamble with bated breath. Unless it is a success, one of the richest parts of Holland will disappear forever beneath the sea. The contest is traditional to the Dutch for these skilled technicians are straining all their resources to close the dykes on Walcheren Island before the torrential winter storms begin in November. Never before, never in the 900 years that Holland's dykes have held the North Sea at bay, has the issue been so sharp or so urgent. Small wonder, then, that this project is the first and most important in the Netherlands' reconstruction.



Landing barges from Normandy's beaches, filled with scrap and stones, were sunk to close the broken dikes more quickly. *Photo. Lawrence Earl. Black Star.*

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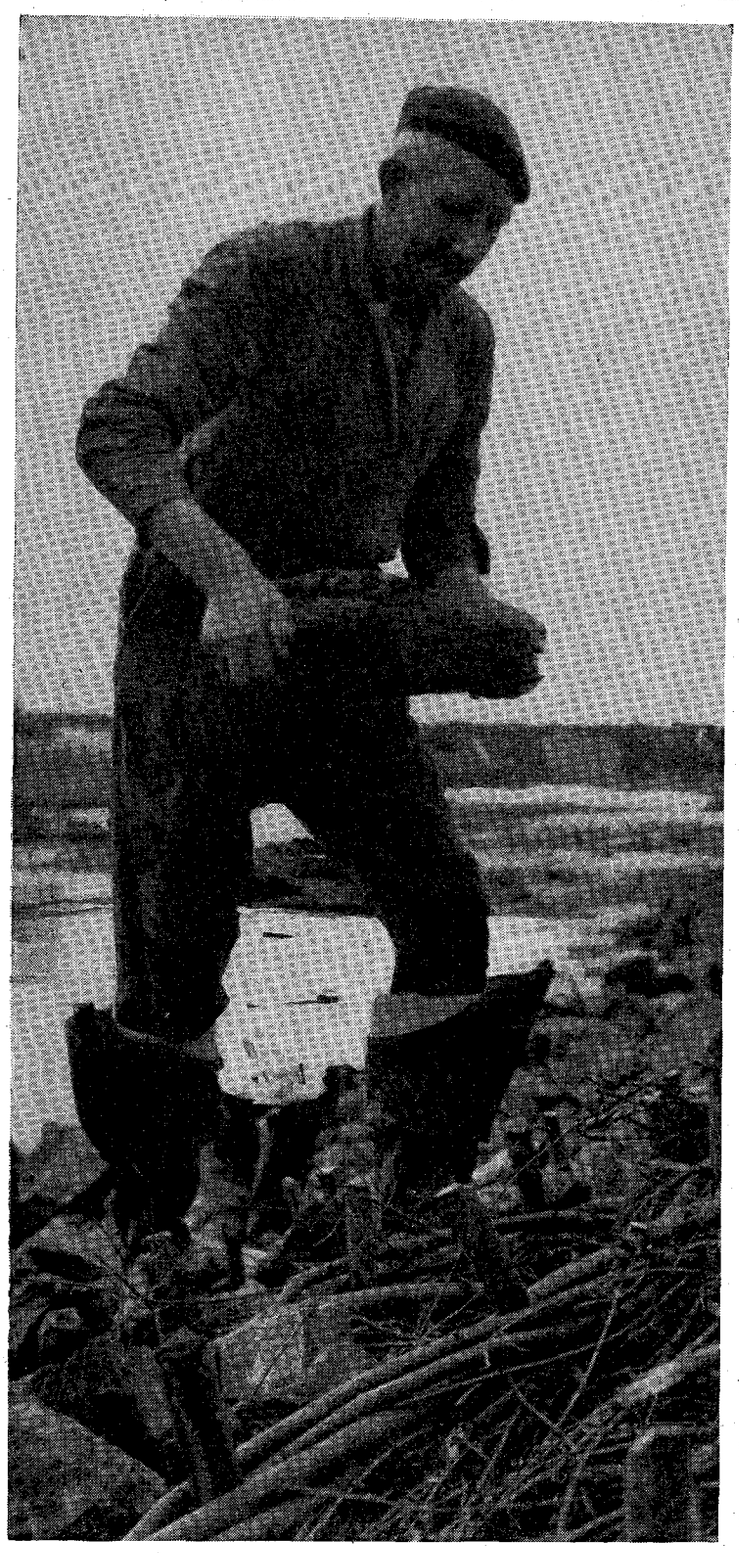
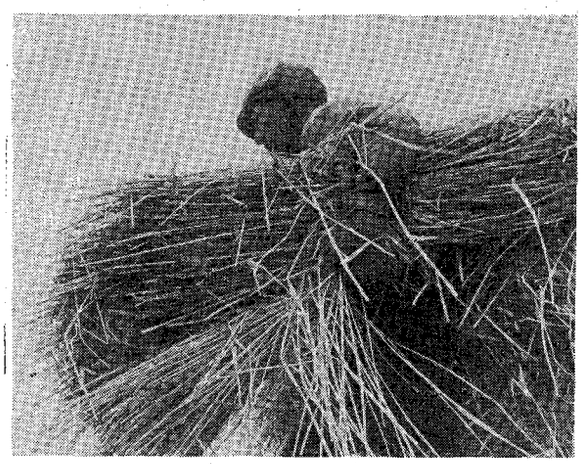


Walcheren, once the fruit basket of Holland, ha been almost entirely submerged since last Novembe when R.A.F. bombs smashed great gaps in the dyke on four sides of the Island. Since that time, millior of tons of foaming salt water have swept daily throug the four breaches. Beneath such devastating torrent the rich farmlands of Walcheren have sunk deepe with every rushing tide. Today only the stark outline of dead trees and tilted roofs indicate a countrysid whose old-world charm once delighted artists an whose lush fruits and vegetables were abundan enough to supply Holland and other countries as wel

Last December, P.Ph. Jansen, head engineer of th project, first began work on the rescue of Walcheren Charts and maps were drawn; the crumbling ends o the broken dykes were fortified against the gnawing of the winter tides; Allied officials consulted abou supplies. With the liberation, Mr. Jansen's colleagu and partner, J. H. Verhey and other key men, wer freed for the emergency. By June promised materia began to arrive and in July work started in earnes Dyke experts gathered in Middelburg, largest su



Loads of straw are being used. Mixed with clay, straw mak **a comparatively resistant material for the inner part of dik**

Tedious work and ant-like patience go into the construction of dikes: men carefully place stone upon stone, shovel clay into fissures, pile sandbag upon sandbag. The ground must be secured by thousands of sharp wooden stakes which are driven into the ground and interwoven with willow twigs. (right) The Dutch claim that the primitive methods used for hundreds of years give better results than modern machinery—"only the Dutch know how to build dikes . . ."

Phot. Lawrence Earl.

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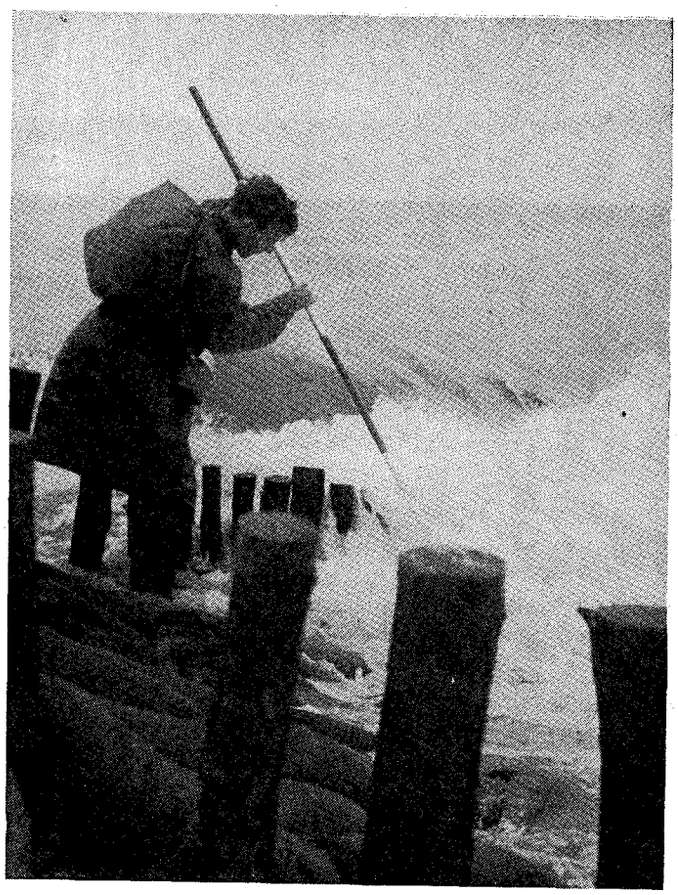
ıiving town on the Island. Some of the men had come ıalf way around the world, returning home for the irst time in five years to help tackle the first problem ıf the peace.

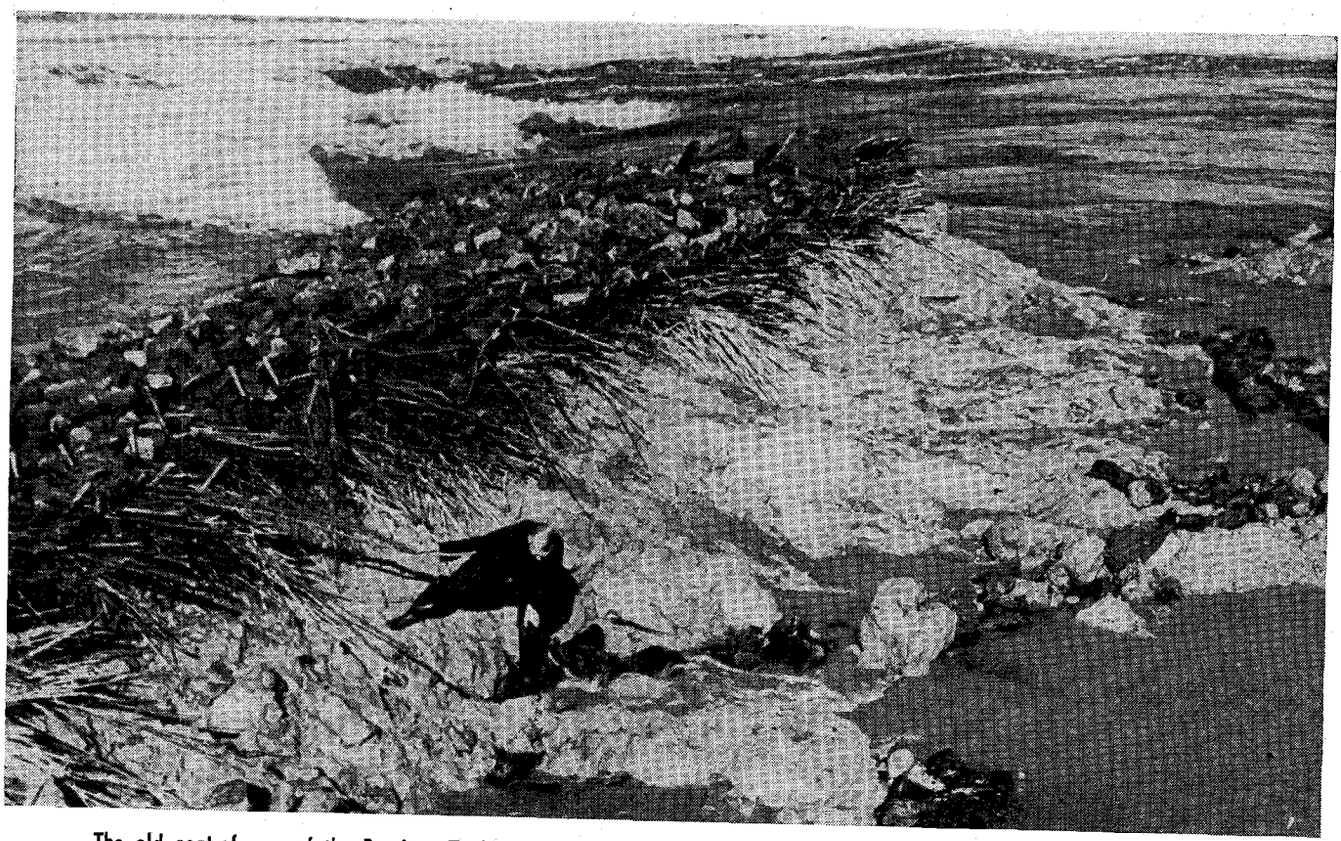
As the work continues, the people of Walcheren vait with stoical calm. Fanatically Calvinist, zealously raditional, they feel the disaster which has robbed hem of everything is classically significant. At other imes in their history, land near Walcheren has dis- ppeared beneath the tides. Their folklore teems vith sagas of tiny islands that vanished overnight. But heir faith forbids them feeling a similar fate is heirs. "God let the water come; God will let the vater go," they say, unemotional and stolid.

Today throughout Walcheren one sees everywhere he escutcheon of Zeeland, the province whose boun- aries include the Island. The coat-of-arms shows a olden lion rising from the sea; it carries the motto: I fight and emerge." But now a new motto has been dded to the old. It says: "Walcheren must be dry: elp the lion in his struggle."

To the simple peasants of Walcheren, the matter ests chiefly in the hands of God. To the engineers nd men toiling amid the mud, sand and surge of the ea, it's a question of man's skill and tenacity pitted gainst the elements; of a desperate and cataclysmic ace against time. Will they close the dykes before the orms begin? Never yet, the Dutch say proudly, as Holland given back land she has won from the ea. And like the peasants, the dyke workers have uith that Walcheren will not be sacrificed to the in- ıtiable greed of the flood tides.



A young engineer makes soundings on the bottom of the narrowing gap to check possible scouring as the pent-up force of the water increases.



The old coat-of-arms of the Province Zeeland shows a lion rising from the sea; it carries the motto: "I fight and emerge." Will the Dutch again succeed in their desperate fight for their land? The torrential winter storms will soon begin—will the dikes be closed in time? The Dutch say proudly: "Help the lion in his struggle; Holland has never given back land she has won from the sea!"

Photos Black Star

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BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AT HOME

Britain's Prime Minister at home: Clement Richard Attlee at Stanmore. He likes to putter around in his garden (although he isn't much of a gardener), to spend his brief free time with his family, and to do carpenter work (at which he is very skilled).

Attlee with his family and one of their pet goats. (Left to right) 22-year-old Janet, who served in the W.A.A.F.; Martin, aged 17; 19-year-old Felicity; Mr. Attlee and his wife. His fourth child is Alison, 15 years old.

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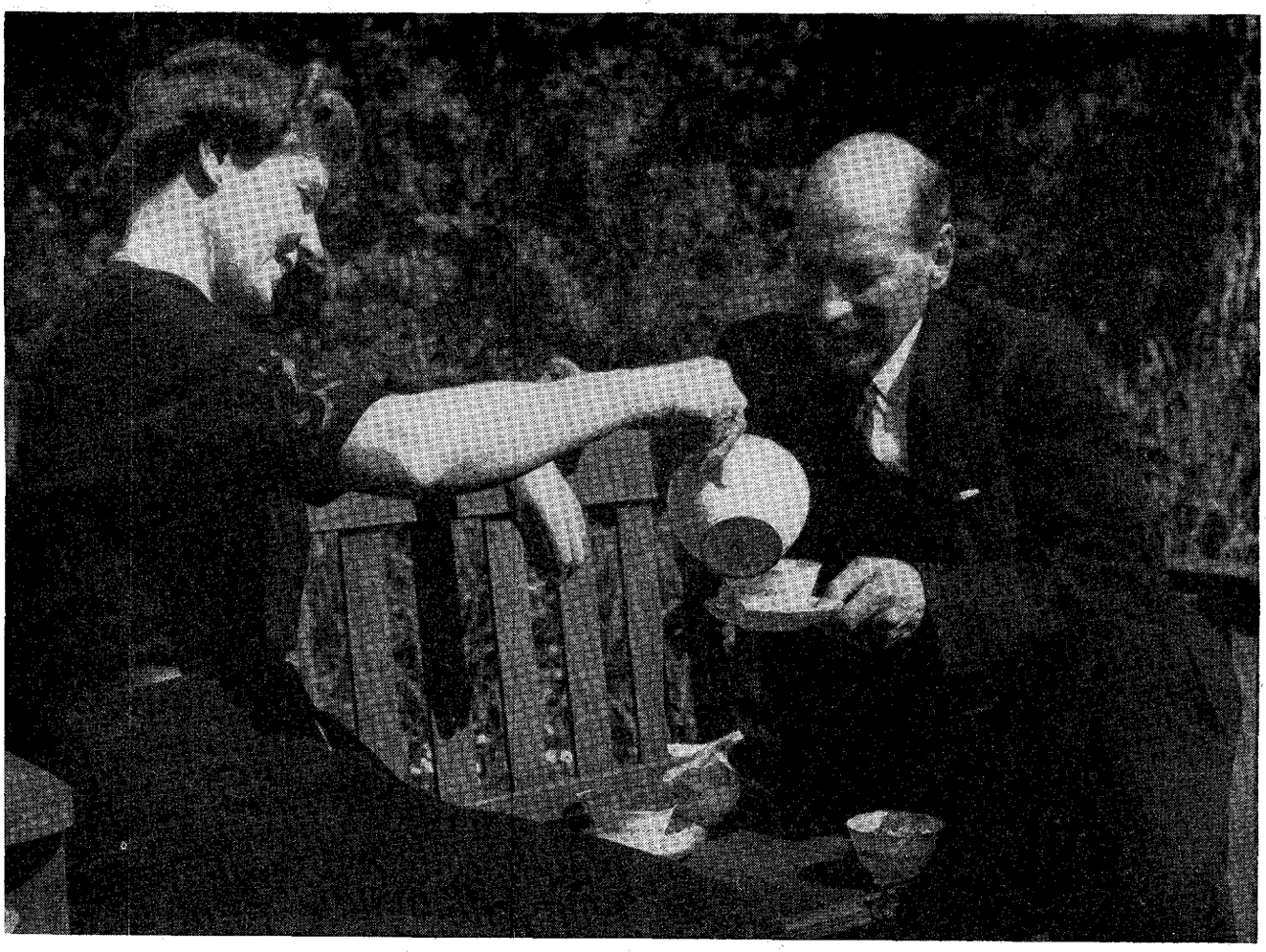
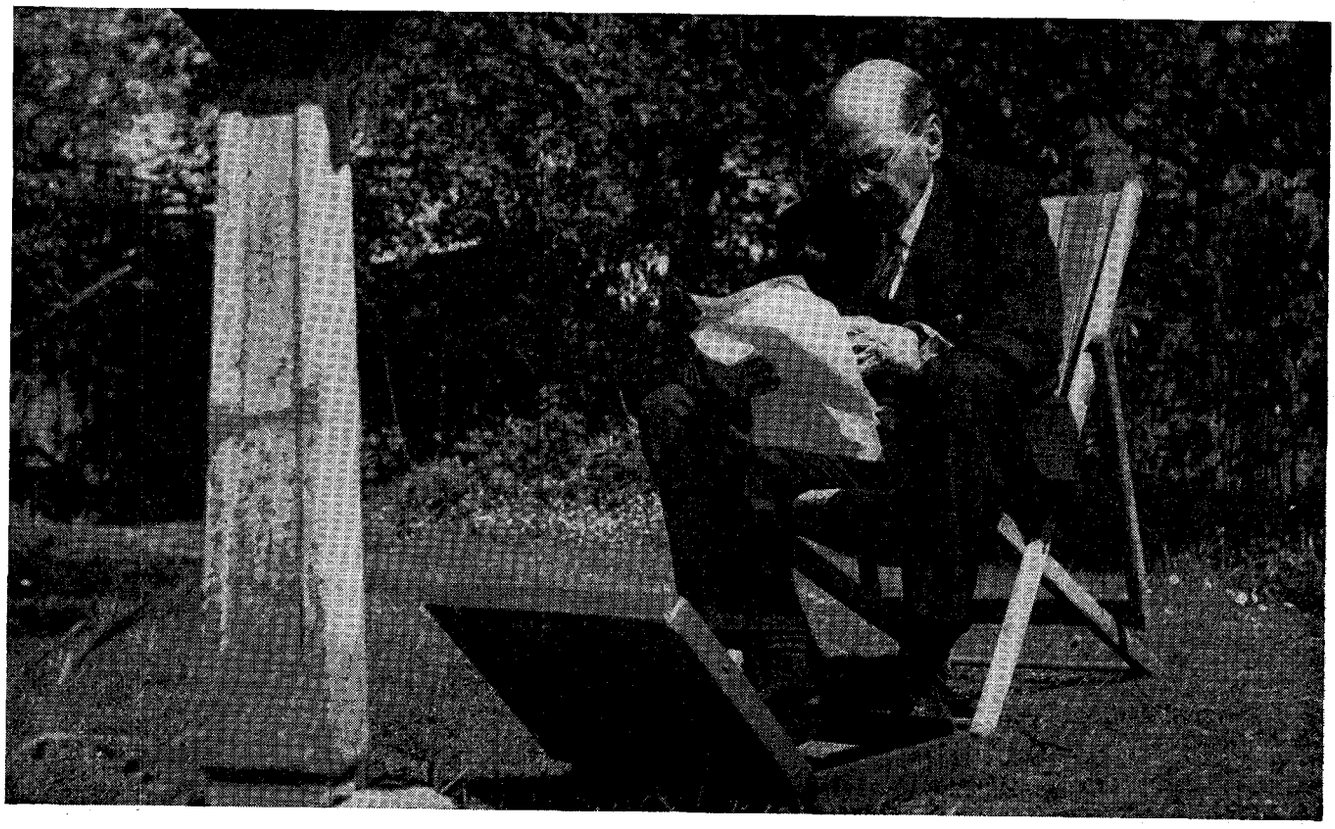


The burden of his responsibilities forgotten for a while, the Prime Minister enjoys tea with his wife in the garden of their Stanmore home.



Wherever Clement Attlee goes, there also go his precious dispatch cases. On the sunny lawn of his Stanmore Home Mr. Attlee settles down to study documents in comfort.

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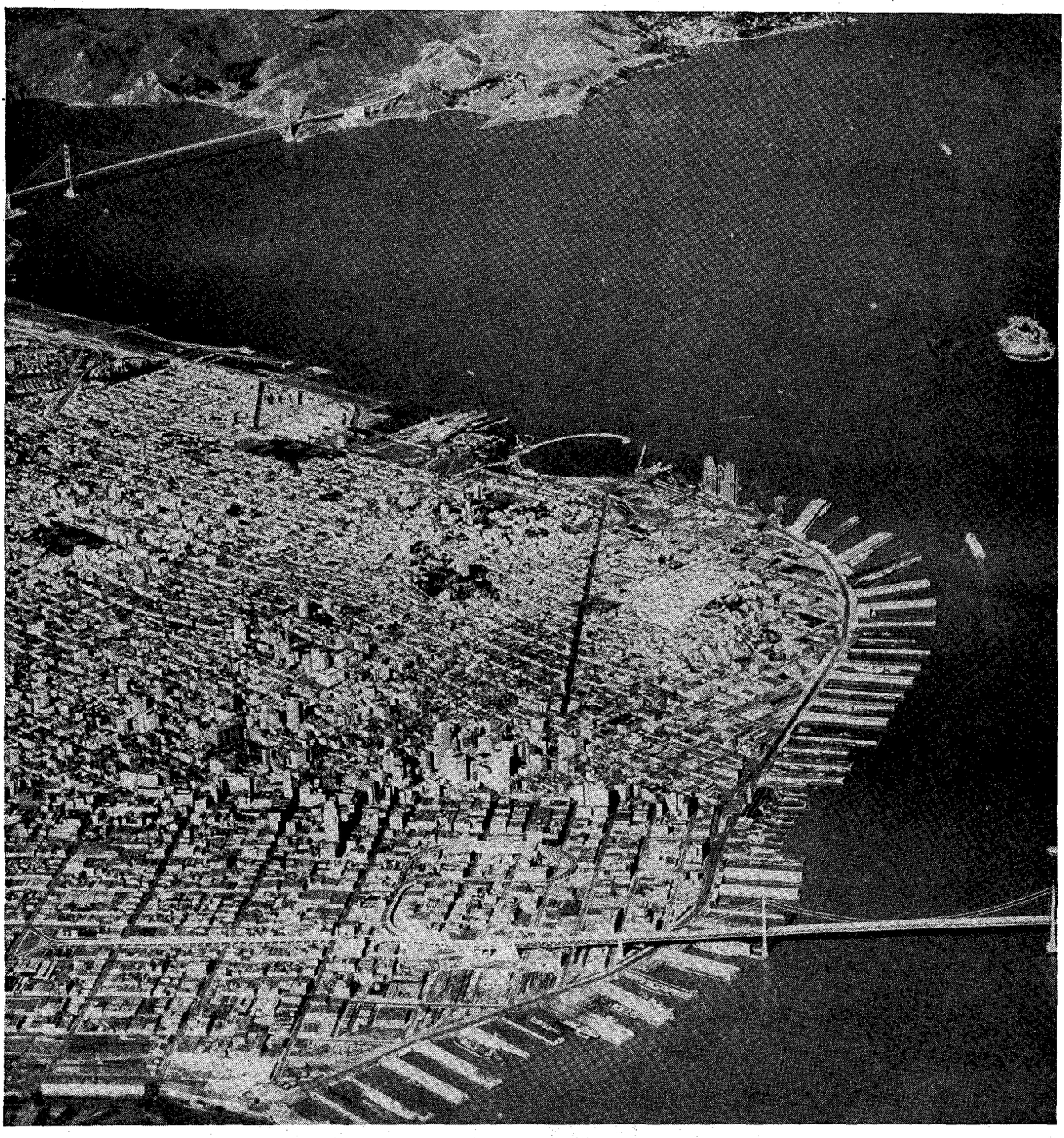
THE BATTLE OF

WHICH WILL BECOME THE

SAN FRANCISCO —



General view of San Francisco between ocean and bay. Upper left: the Golden Gate Bridge. Lower right: the Oakland Bridges. San Francisco's natural beauty would lend charm to any planned UNO buildings.

Photo. Gabriel Moulins

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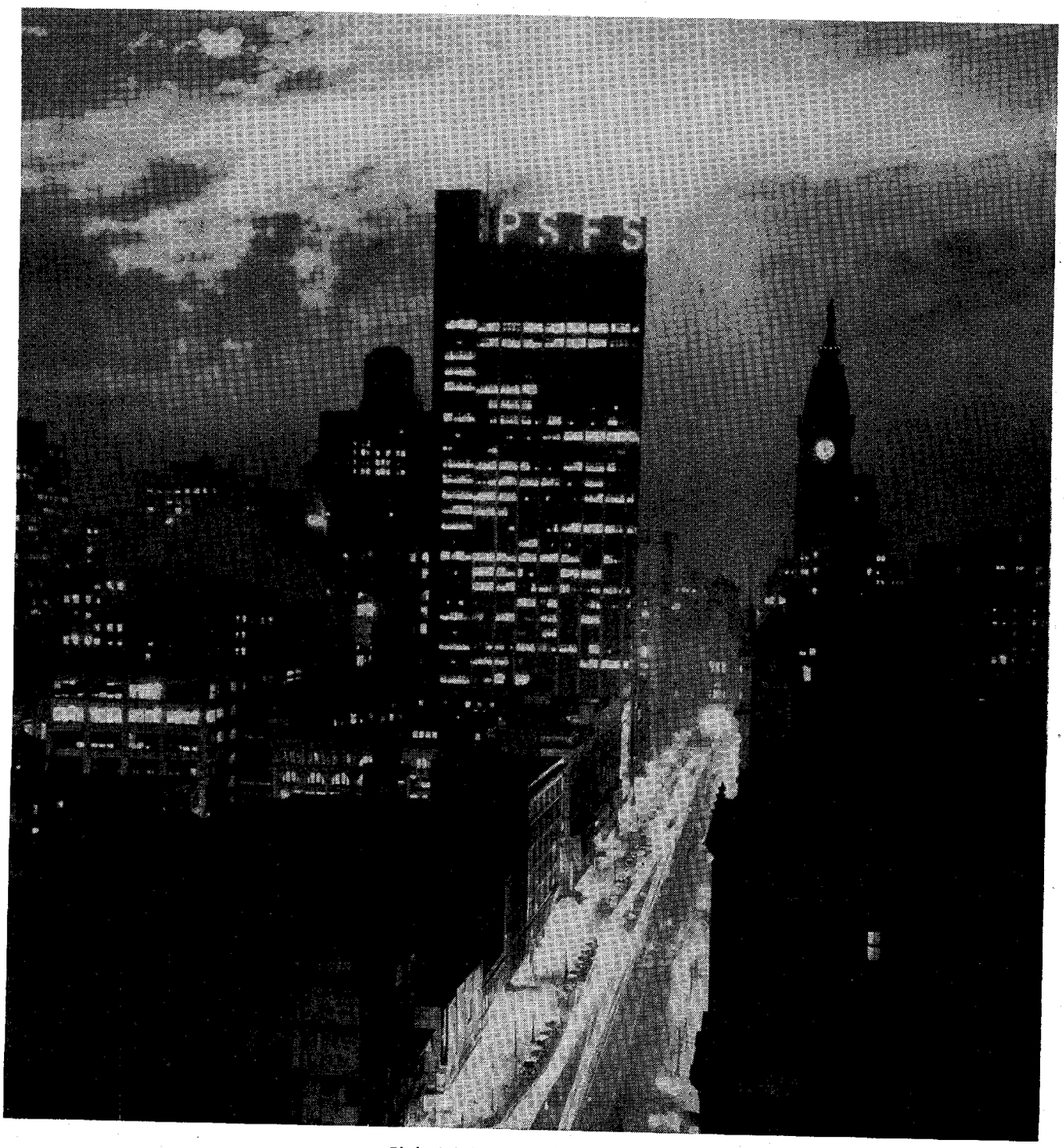
THREE CITIES

NEW CAPITAL OF THE WORLD?

PHILADELPHIA—



Philadelphia at night. View towards City Hall. Philadelphia's claim for the world capital is well founded on her great historical achievements and her present lively development. A city "of brotherly love" would augur well for world cooperation.

Photo. Dudley Smith

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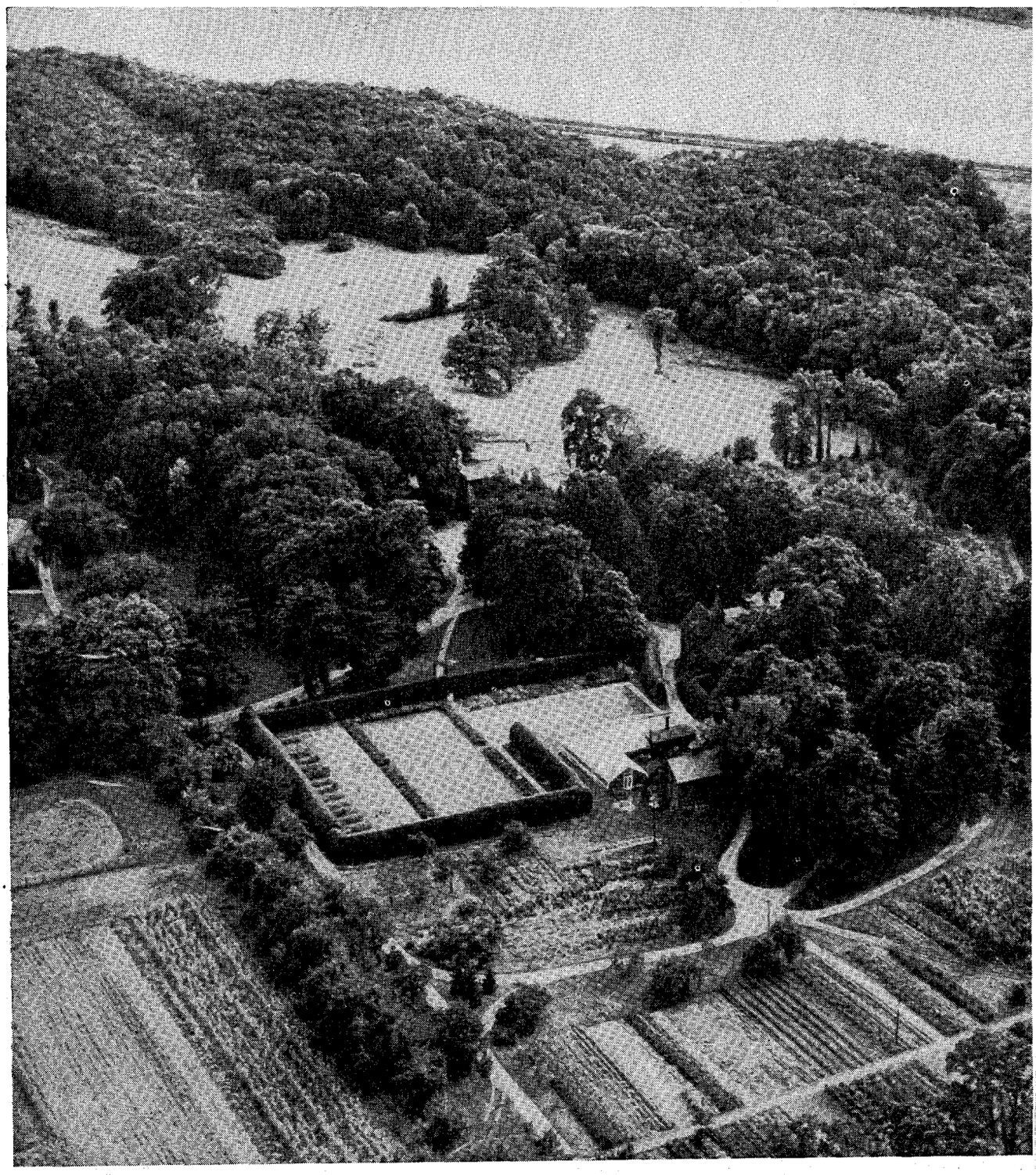
HYDE PARK, (N. Y.)



The rolling hills around the Roosevelt estate in Hyde Park, N. Y. The picture shows the natural beauty (with the Hudson River in background) and the unlimited architectural possibilities of this unspoiled country.
INS photo.

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THE BATTLE OF THREE CITIES

SAN FRANCISCO

HYDE PARK

PHILADELPHIA

which will become the world capital?

THREE cities in the United States are today engaged in a wordy battle, advertising their charms as never before, each seeking to become the world capital. These ambitions were fired by a tentative decision reached by the executive committee of the United Nations Organization meeting in London during September and October, that the seat of the UNO should be in the United States. That decision, however, left open the final question of which city, plain, meadow or shadowed lawn should harbor the world's second try at organized peace. Hence the hubbub.

San Francisco, Philadelphia, Hyde Park—these three lead in the race to house the permanent secretariat of the UNO. The battle is only slightly premature. The full Preparatory Committee of UNO meeting in December must decide the location—and at that meeting the claims of Europe will receive consideration again. Leading opponents of locating the permanent secretariat in the United States will be France, England, Czechoslovakia, Holland and Belgium. And the European arguments in favor of locating the UNO in Europe will be political, geographical and financial.

On the political front, the Europeans will begin with a sentimental argument. Material power developed in the United States is already so vast, that locating the world's capital in the United States will serve to emphasize to the world the decline of Europe. A small point, you say, but sometimes a bath is all a man needs to regain his self-respect.

Additionally, UNO located in the United States removes the secretariat from the storm centers of the modern world. Both World Wars have mushroomed from the miasmas of European national jealousies, frontier discomforts, racial antagonisms and economic absurdities. These have not been adjusted by the war. The peace treaties have not yet been drafted, much less has pacification become effective. Hence, the Europeans will argue, given the explosiveness of European politics, UNO should remain close by, and keep its ear to the European rumblings, precursors of eruption, if eruption there is to be.

And again, the Europeans will argue, the United States has its galaxy of reactionaries and unreconstructed isolationists. It is bad enough, they say, to become conscious of them when dulled by distance and translation to the facsimile of a rather disagreeable echo. But to make the still delicate and youthful sprout toward world organization subject itself to the

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brimstone of reactionary congressional blasts and the acid of the American isolationist press is to invite disaster. The least that will happen, they claim, is that foreign representatives unfamiliar with American rough and tumble will be scared out of their wits.

Geographical arguments will emphasize the expense involved in having to congregate in the United States. Europe, they will say, consists of many countries, America of but 22. Hence the many will spend large amounts of cash to travel via American and British transportation systems. Cash is scarce at best, and will be scarcer than ever in Europe during the coming reconstruction years. And *le dollar* comes high when translated and multiplied into foreign currencies.

The battle will not be too bitter, however, and for fear of generating a feeling that Europe is anti-United States, it is most probable that the final decision will confirm the tentative one reached at London, to locate the UNO Secretariat in the United States.

The question then resolves itself into the single word—where?

* * * * * *

Just what high motives lie behind the present invitations of Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Hyde Park? Could it be possible that real estate promoters have perhaps influenced mayors and city fathers, gently spurred by their glimpses of future unearned increment on city property? Could it be that the construction trade dreams of multiplying new residences, clubs, bars, offices and attendant amenities? And will the aldermen of the city nearest to the world capital add a little extra glitter to their title and their responsibilities?

Among the contestants, Hyde Park offers, besides the impressive name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the opportunity to start from scratch. Roosevelt started from very nearly scratch in founding the United Nations Organization. In contrast to Washington which was dreamed up, planned and laid out in a swamp, Hyde Park offers the pristine state of rolling hills and its unsmogged air. Hyde Park is an invitation to a Le Corbusier, to a Frank Lloyd Wright, to design a functionally suitable building, for an organization which all the world hopes will be functionally suited to peace.

And yet . . . metropolis speaks to cosmopolite. The country on week-ends, he thinks, but the city for everyday living. In the final running the decision will probably lie, to put it figuratively, by balancing Philadelphia's scrapple against San Francisco's pompano.

To present their claims suitably, the contestants are mobilizing their best. Historians are in demand today as never before, poring over city records to revive historical "firsts" to be used in promotion. Civic booster clubs are mobilizing their contacts: whom do you know abroad? Who has friends among the great, beyond Uncle Sam's borders? Who has any relatives in the Resistance movement who might influence . . . ? And lobbies call on President Truman seeking his word, his sway.

But that is precisely what President Truman cannot do. Truman is no Lear to favor any Cordelia; a Cordelia, be it added, seeking and asking as Cordelia never did. As stars in the eyes of Uncle Sam, his opulent daughters are equal and between them the choice must be made—but not by Truman. Yielding to the courting, the choice must be made by the international swain. And so right at the beginning of the UNO this choice—note well, involving a session of United States sovereignty over a tiny piece of ground—is not that of the United States but that of the UNO. Symbolical, if you please, but true nevertheless, and auspicious.

To be thoroughly happy in its location and fruitful in its work, the UNO depends only secondarily on creature comforts. Modern ingenuity will create and supply any comforts desired, in any quantity and in any place. What it needs primarily is friendly moral and political atmosphere. And that comes only from the citizenship of the cities inviting the UNO. In crudest terms, hotel accommodations are secondary to the influence of local civic-minded and world-minded groups working in any given locality for international understanding, world law and world peace. It is they who must mobilize and prove their rightness and fitness to be hosts to the world.

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SAN FRANCISCO

Offers:

Earl Warren, Governor of California, speaks:

"It is a real pleasure for me as governor of California, to join in the sincere invitation being extended to all members of the United Nations Organization to select California as a permanent place for its sessions.

"California has never forgotten the honor conferred upon it by the United Nations of the world when they chose San Francisco as the city in which to meet, organize and initiate efforts to maintain world peace. From that day forth it has been our hope that we would be permitted to continue to serve as the host state for all gatherings of such noble purpose.

"With appropriate modesty we believe that no spot in the world will be found which is more intense in its faith in the purposes and objectives of the United Nations Organization.

"Those purposes will be found etched in the pattern of our own history as a state and in our make-up as a commonwealth.

"Delegates who attended the initial conference in San Francisco became aware, I am sure, that ours is a state which is cosmopolitan in its nature. California was discovered by a navigator of Portuguese birth and was later explored by the English and the French. It knew the influence of Russian fur traders as early as 1812. Its first missions were built by Spanish colonists. Mexicans were pioneers in its ranch development and the Chinese assisted in the early development of its mines.

"All through its history California has been a place of attraction for men of all races, men who have come here and proved through accomplishment their ability to work and live together. Fully half of the population of the city in which the United Nations Charter was signed were either born in foreign nations or are the children of foreign parents. Nationals of every nation in this hemisphere are daily participants in our social and economic life. We are grateful that ours was the state chosen in which to lay the foundations for permanent peace. In all humbleness we say that nothing could make us happier than the receipt of word that the delegates to the United Nations Organization have decided to return to our state. If such a decision is reached all may be certain that we will be prompt to meet the needs and requirements occasioned by the decision and will perform our tasks with gratitude."

Roger D. Lapham, Mayor of San Francisco, speaks—

"On April 25th of this year it was my pleasure to welcome, on behalf of everybody dwelling on the shores of San Francisco Bay, the delegates to the United Nations Conference on international organization and to understand the needs and desires of the various delegations. I feel sure that the same general atmosphere would prevail should additional conferences be held in the San Francisco Bay area and I personally pledge unqualified cooperation to this end. Should the San Francisco Bay area be designated as the site for the permanent headquarters there would be no question of the United Nations being given full support in the obtaining of a proper site, its internationalization and kindred problems. Within an hour's automobile radius of downtown San Francisco are numerous sites with adequate acreage and with an environment needed for the headquarters of an organization devoted to the peace and progress of humanity. In addition to enjoyable and invigorating climate, the proximity to all types of recreation and the cosmopolitan atmosphere of San Francisco and its environs, this area has the good fortune to be ranked among the three best in the world for international communications facilities, including radio, telephone, cables and telegraph. Its seaport is, of course, known the world over and its airports handle scores of transpacific airplanes daily as well as numerous domestic schedules. Three transcontinental railways also serve the region and good highways fan out in all directions. The San Francisco Bay area also is the home of two great universities. The University of California and Stanford, with well-rated staffs in political science, international affairs, history, languages and related subjects such as would be required by a United Nations Organization. Language printing facilities in the area, incidentally, are regarded as quite complete.

"One final point, I believe, makes San Francisco's area important particularly to the representatives of America's sister nations. The city is situated 3,000 miles from the national capital, Washington, on the threshold of the Pacific. The city is about 7,000 miles from the Asiatic mainland and 6,000 miles from Europe and from 1,500 to 6,500 miles from Central and South American capitals. Thus its location is equidistant from the majority of the United Nations."

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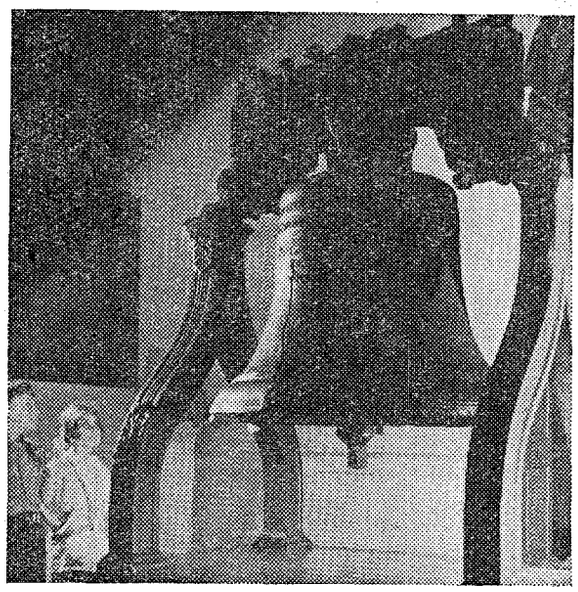

The Liberty Bell — Philadelphia's proud symbol of freedom.

PHILADELPHIA

Offers:

Bernard Samuel, Mayor of Philadelphia, speaks—

"Last May, while the United Nations Conference still was in session in San Francisco, Philadelphia invited the delegates to consider establishing permanent headquarters of the United Nations Organization in the City of Brotherly Love. The invitation has since been renewed, outlining Philadelphia's advantages as the world's peace center—advantages which I believe are not obtainable anywhere else in the nation.

"The question of jurisdiction over the site of the proposed capital is settled. The Pennsylvania State Legislature has adopted a resolution formally stating its readiness to enact any measures required to aid in establishing Philadelphia as the world peace capital.

"The site recommended, which will be donated by the City of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania, has an area well in excess of the required square mile. It is on a high plateau overlooking the Schuylkill River and Fairmount Park, one of the largest and most beautiful city parks in the world. Most of the site will be in the park itself, and it includes a golf course. It offers a splendid view, pure air, an adequate elevation, and is readily accessible over express highways and city parkways, an easy ten-minute drive from the center of the city.

"Philadelphia is the focal point of a wide network of highways, and its port ranks second among seaports of the United States in total tonnage handled. The city is slightly over two hours' distant by train from Washington, and ninety minutes from New York. Train service to these two points is almost on a commuter basis. The international airport, co-terminal of three transatlantic lines, will be a twenty-minute drive from the site offered as the capital. Railroad stations are only ten minutes away.

"Located as Philadelphia is, on the Atlantic Coast, it is more accessible to the capitals of the United Nations than are cities in the Mid-West or on the Pacific Coast. The only capitals closer to the West Coast are Wellington, Canberra, Chungking, and Manila. For instance, Moscow is 9,325 nautical miles from San Francisco, but only 4,981 from Philadelphia. Thus, to all the other advantages, is added this tremendous saving in travel time and expense.

"Of interest to middle and low white-collar income groups is the fact that Philadelphia has the second lowest cost-of-living index among the ten ranking cities of the United States.

"Not to be overlooked are its printing facilities. Since colonial times the city has been a printing and publishing center. Until the United Nations establishes its own printing office, Philadelphia's excellent printing houses here can fill the need. A substantial number of foreign-language newspapers and publications are published here. This matter of communication of ideas by means of the printed word is as important as the transportation of people and things by means of roads, ships, and planes.

"The language generally spoken, of course, is English. But Philadelphians have a wide familiarity with other languages for two reasons: (1) The city was founded on the principle that peace-loving people, whatever their origin, were welcome to settle within its borders; and (2) the cultural interests of educational leaders have brought to our institutions of learning outstanding experts in many fields of thought, many of them speaking in a foreign language. Thus any foreign-language-speaking group which might come to Philadelphia would find many cultured people in our city speaking their tongue.

"Tradition and history have established Philadelphia as the spiritual home of any peace-loving organization and physical advantages and accessibility favor it as the ideal home for the United Nations Organization."

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HYDE PARK

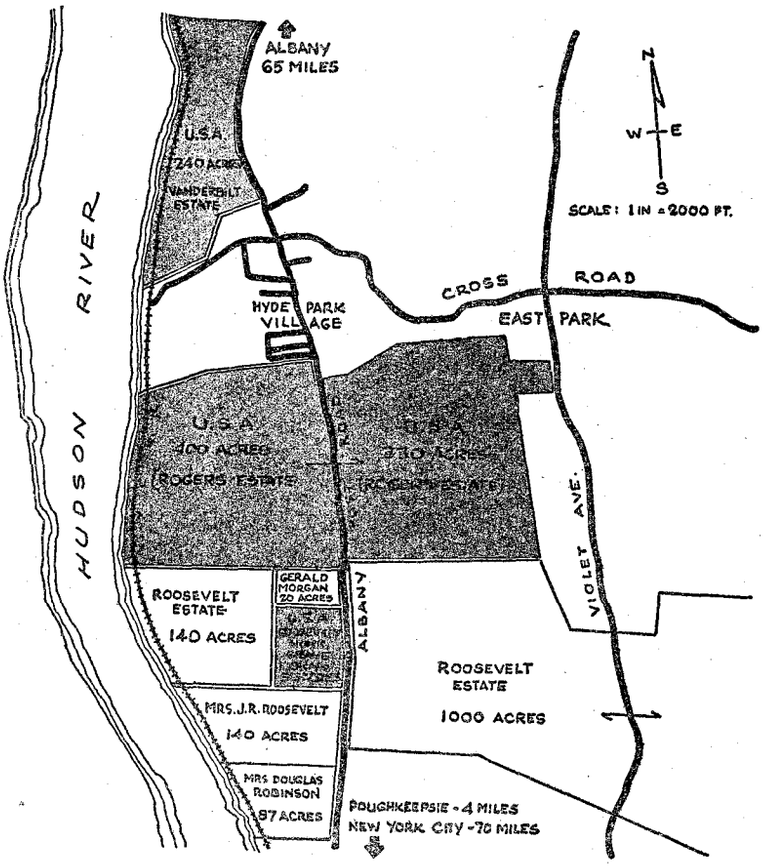
Speaks:

By the Poughkeepsie Chamber of Commerce:

The selection of a site in the United States connected with Franklin Delano Roosevelt would have a special appeal to every nation including our own. Hyde Park, N. Y., has such an appeal. Franklin D. Roosevelt was born at Hyde Park and it was his home throughout his life. He is buried at Hyde Park and a portion of the estate which was his home has been granted the United States Government.

Any site chosen should be convenient to some great world center of population with all the facilities of world-wide communications and transportation. Such a site, however, should be far enough removed from this center of population so that a world capital can be laid out which will undoubtedly be the most beautiful ever designed by man and which will provide quarters for the thousands of administrative employees who will carry on the details of United Nations Government.

PROPOSED SITE
UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS
HYDE PARK, N. Y.
SHADED AREA FEDERALLY OWNED



Hyde Park is 70 miles north of New York City on the banks of the Hudson River. It is a gently rolling plateau, beautifully wooded, gardened and landscaped. Its beauty and grandeur are unexcelled anywhere in America. Its proximity to New York City fulfills the primary requirement of nearness to a great world center.

This site, which would center around the Roosevelt home and burial place, is on the main line of the New York Central Railroad, a four-track system with connections to every point in the United States. Present train service is an hour and one-half to New York City.

The New-York-to-Albany Post Road passes through the potential site. This is a three-lane highway giving access to New York City by motor vehicle in about two hours. Another four-lane parkway passes a few miles away leading into the New York City area.

The city of Poughkeepsie, of 45,000 population, is about four miles to the south of the site. It provides all the conveniences of a first-class American city.

Airports already built include one at New Hackensack, 10 miles to the south, capable of handling most commercial ships, and Stewart Field, about 20 miles south, provides airport facilities for the largest four-engine planes in existence. The Hudson River itself, navigable for many ocean-going steamers, is also a port for the largest seaplanes immediately adjacent to the site.

Using the Roosevelt Home and Burial Place as the center, there is a block of 5 square miles which could readily be made available for such a site. One thousand acres of this block is now the property of the United States Government and the remainder is vested in two owners, one of these being the Roosevelt Estate. Adjacent territory is not thickly populated or built up and would be available for expansion.

Summarized—Hyde Park, with unparalleled sentimental appeal also has the essential physical attributes for an ideal site and commends itself to the attention of every interested citizen.

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human nature and the atomic age

by NORMAN ANGELL

UNTIL yesterday, the average sensual man took it as a sign of virility to assert with an air of realist dogmatism that you could never get rid of war because you could never get rid of human nature, or change it.

Those who belonged to this school of thought —and until the first world war nearly everybody did—looked upon all who discussed means of eliminating war as belonging, if not to the lunatic fringe of society, at least to its cranky fringe, to be classed with those who walked about in sandals, and long hair, lived upon a vegetarian diet, and devoted themselves to Higher Thought, wringing their hands in public places.

Very many of the realists went beyond the premise that human nature would always make impossible the abolition of war by declaring that it would be a disaster for mankind if war were abolished. They shared the view of Von Moltke that not only was peace a dream, but an evil dream; that war served as a cleansing, purifying and spiritualizing factor in human society; that it insured the survival of the fittest and was therefore the main vehicle of progress; and much else to the same effect. Victorian writers like Ruskin echoed this sentiment in one form or another, and a certain Anglican bishop wrote a poem about war being "God's red rain," by which the virtues of human nature were watered, comradeship developed, the readiness for sacrifice of men for each other made manifest. By suffering were we saved, and part of that suffering was war. A critic of the Bishop suggested that smallpox and bubonic plague, famine and the Black Death were also part of men's suffering, and wondered whether the doctors and scientists hard at work in abolishing those things were defying God's will.

Whatever else the coming of the atom bomb might have done, it has blown away a large part of this nonsense. Though war may have some advantages, just as an epidemic of yellow fever has, men have decided they don't want either. But the bomb has not disposed of the real problem of human nature. We may not be able to "change human nature" (whatever the phrase may mean) but we can certainly change human behavior, which is what matters.

But the problem of modifying behavior so that it shall be guided in international relationships by reason, not blinding passion, of substituting reason for nationalist pugnacity or doctrinal arrogance—this still remains.

The fact that men do not want war, do not intend it, is not of itself any assurance that they will not bring it about. The very measures which in the past they have sometimes taken in the sincere and passionate conviction that such were the right measures to avoid war, proved to be precisely the measures which made war inevitable. The policies followed by the governments of appeasement in Britain and isolation and neutrality in America are cases in point. Those on the other hand who urged the measures that might have prevented this second world war were condemned by the vast majority as "war mongers." If Americans and British had been willing in 1920 or 1930 even to adopt the line of policy both did adopt in 1940 it is almost certain that we should not have had a second world war. Why could we not see early what we saw late—too late?

That is the question which more than any other we have to answer if we are to prevent

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the throwing of atomic bombs at each other in the future.

ABOUT this business of "unchanging human nature," we do, on the basis of experience, know not merely that we can change human behavior, not merely our notions of what is right and what is wrong, but our likes and dislikes; change them to such degree that the thing once deeply prized may become in a very short period biologically a thing regarded with deadly loathing. Our jungle forbears (not alone in Africa) once regarded a feast of human flesh as the supreme festival. Our gustatory tastes have altered. Even highly civilized people like the Romans looked upon the devouring of human creatures, helpless men and women, by wild animals as a high form of entertainment. We have slightly modified that today; we do not much enjoy seeing or having people killed, unless they are Japs, or Germans, or Fascists, or collaborationists, or (in some parts of Europe) Jews, or (in some parts of America, and rarely) Negroes. Indeed as pure entertainment we don't like the killing, only the risk of being killed in the trapeze performances or the death leap which the modern circus will provide for us. We no longer burn alive the man who does not attend the same church; we reserve it, and then only in fairly remote localities, for those who do not happen to have the same colored skin.

It is quite fallacious to conclude that because a lynching occasionally takes place, followed by horrified protests, that we haven't altered things as compared with the time when the throwing of the Christian to the lions or the *auto-da-fé* of the Inquisition was regarded, not as something dreadful, exceptional, an aberration, but as belonging to the normal rhythm of life. It makes all the difference whether a thing is usual or unusual. The essence of truth is degree.

IT is probable that in this matter of the bomb innate cruelty is much less a danger than the tendency for each of the two parties to a dispute to think with their blood when differences arise between them; for each to decide impulsively and naturally, that all the right is on his side and all the wrong on the other. We are all agreed that effective control of the bomb will demand a strong international authority, an international government. But that authority or government will be composed as the recent Conference of Foreign Ministers in London was composed, of men drawn from different nations; that is to say, animated in lesser or greater degree by the impulses of nationalism. We know the assumptions and code of ethics which have heretofore underlain national behavior: "My country, right or wrong;" "Ourselves alone;" "Britannia rules the waves;" "Sinn Fein;" "La France avant tout;" "Deutschland über alles" . . . There will be no lack of occasion for those emotions to express themselves. There are at this moment going on in the world at least twenty major territorial disputes, like that between Yugoslavia and Italy over Trieste; disputes of sovereignty, like those between the Communists, who claim the right of separate government in Chinese areas, and the Kuomintang; between Jews and Arabs in Palestine; the perennial dispute of Catholic Ireland with the North; of Russia's right to determine the character of governments in eastern Europe; the right of the peoples of India to cut their two hundred years' tie with Britain, the right of Moslem Pakistan to create a separate Moslem state, of the Hindus to deny that right . . . They are nearly all of them disputes in which each side is passionately convinced that it has full and complete right. They are not new disputes, none of them properly due to this war; nor are they disputes, as some seem to claim, artificially kept alive by the great powers. Warlordism in China and bitter civil strife long antedated the coming of the Communist Soviets, and there would be internal strains in China even if Russia had no interest in the Communist struggle now going on in that country. The liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Ottoman Empire did not end the rivalry between those peoples. The end of Spanish imperialism in America did not leave complete harmony between the Spanish American peoples or obviate revolution. The rivalry of the peoples who composed the Hapsburg Empire did not cease when that Empire disintegrated, they became worse. The end of the Roman Empire did not bring peace to Europe; it brought first the anarchy and chaos of the Dark Ages and then, succeeding that, the bitter rivalries of nationalism.

BEHIND much of all this lay, probably, what Trotter called, perhaps incorrectly, "the herd instinct." But we know that the instinct —if instinct it is—need not operate in the future as it has operated in the past: that its incidence can be very greatly changed. We know this because it has changed. For centuries Scots and English were unable to maintain

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peace. One English state fought another. The small tribes which inhabited what is now the United States were eternally fighting each other, the tribe across the mountain or the river was a deadly enemy: forty-eight states now live there in secure peace and have so lived for a hundred and sixty years, only once disturbed by major war. Scotland and England and Wales and Canada and Australia and New Zealand and South Africa also all live at peace.

How has the change been brought about? How have the pugnacities, the instinct to fight, been eliminated?

It is very fashionable just now to insist that the road to the elimination of these pugnacities is to give to every nation which desires it complete independence of the others. But, as a matter of simple history, the process of peace has usually been the exact reverse. Scotland continually fought with England when both were completely independent. The only time that Europe has lived at peace was when it found a central authority in the Roman Empire. Friedlander, speaking of that peace, tells us that it lasted at least two hundred and fifty years, only occasionally and locally interrupted. Roman authority, he tells us, stayed the endless confusions of incessantly warring states; "she had united peoples and dynasties into one organization of peace, one unbreakable reign. . . . Nowhere were there wars or battles or bandits or pirates." If the present world saw ahead of it two hundred and fifty years of similar peace, we should not greatly fear the atomic bomb.

THE lesson has not been lost upon those who propose a world government of one kind or another. But the trouble is not to write a perfect constitution, it is to get agreement among those who are to work it and be governed by it, sufficient agreement not only for its adoption, but for its permanence and workability once adopted. Every one of the twenty-two republics of the western hemisphere have adopted constitutions democratic in intent, their purpose being peace and order as well as democracy. It cannot be said that they have all produced either democracy or freedom from the kind of violence which might prompt men to throw atomic bombs. The thirteen English colonies did, after great difficulty, manage to form a federation which now covers the greater part of North America and is the home of the greatest power in the world. It is true that, after ninety years of life, a part of this federation demanded freedom from the remainder, independence, self-determination. But Lincoln, as we know, denied this claim to independence because he believed that, in the circumstances then obtaining, if the North American Union began to disintegrate there would not be in the western hemisphere anywhere sufficient unity to form the basis of a power which could defend a free way of life against its enemies. History has justified him.

YET the Confederacy felt itself to be a nation, had a very genuine patriotism; and Lincoln would have been the last to deny to men like Lee the sincerity and nobility of their feeling.

But feeling is not enough. We have at times to guide it by knowledge based upon experience of what indulgence even of patriotism and a sense of right may mean. That the discipline of thought can bring feeling and impulse under control we know by a thousand commonplace experiences of daily life. In a theater a man cries "Fire;" there is a panic, a rush for the doors, people are trampled to death, only for the survivors to discover that there was no fire, and the unfortunate who perished in the scramble did so because a great many people obeyed blindly an impulse, an instinct (incidentally that of self-preservation). In another theater the same cry is raised. The manager is there, calls in a loud, authoritative voice to the audience to keep their heads, obey the rules, to walk, not run. This time there is a fire, the place is destroyed: but nobody is hurt.

Were not both courses of action taken by exactly the same kind of human beings, with the same kind of human nature? There was exactly the same kind of human nature in both cases; and diametrically opposed behavior. What the intervention of the manager did in one case can be done in a thousand more vital contingencies, particularly by those who are in the position of the manager, in a position, that is, to utter warnings, to call for reason, to remind men of their responsibilities, of the behavior which past experience dictates.

But the "managers" don't always do it. There are so many who would rather exploit public irrationalism for ends of political ambition, or big circulations of newspapers, or just to indulge some grudge or passionate conviction of their own, to promote a doctrine, a fanaticism. And that way lies utter destruction.

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Struggle against starvation

by SERGE FLIEGERS

Special correspondent of FREE WORLD *to the Quebec Food Conference, Quebec, Canada.*
His pictures appear on pages 17-20

HUNGER is mankind's greatest and most dangerous disease, since more people die of starvation than from any other unnatural cause, including war, and at this very moment, one out of every four inhabitants of the world is starving.

In India alone, for example, one third of the total five hundred million population is chronically undernourished, and during the Bengal famine of 1943, 1,500,000 men, women and children died in the incredibly short time of seven months. By comparison, during the four years of this war, the United States had a total of 1,680,794 men killed, wounded and missing.

Today, the threat of famine is greater than ever. Not only are the economically backward countries in danger of suffering more than ever before, but once prosperous nations such as Holland, France, Belgium and many others face years of suffering and privations.

Realizing the gravity of the situation, national and international leaders have been hard at work since the end of this war, trying to devise an overall scheme to rush needed food supplies to critically affected areas of the world.

UNRRA has been doing a stupendous job, but its supplies are meager in relation to the monumental needs of the world.

A single "charity" organization cannot change the overall situation. Countries will have to help themselves, and cooperate among themselves to get the maximum food returns for their labor.

For this purpose, one of the first practical postwar conferences of the United Nations was called by the International Food and Agriculture Organization in Quebec, Canada. Nutrition and farm specialists from all over the globe got together for two weeks, exchanged information, discussed the present situation, and officially established an international body devoted to the increase of food supplies throughout the world.

An "International Food Charter" was signed by thirty-six United Nations, including the major Allies except Soviet Russia, and a Director General, Sir John Boyd Orr, was appointed.

But to put the charter into operation, so that the starving will actually receive bread instead of promises, much remains to be done.

Thick layers of international red tape will have to be cut, international and national differences will have to be straightened out before a single morsel of additional food reaches the mouths of the hungry.

One plan, of great practical importance, was proposed by an Indian delegate to the Conference, V. K. R. V. Rao, adviser on food to the Indian government, and was incorporated into the final report of the meeting.

Important Proposal

Rao proposed that international agreements be established permitting commodity surpluses to be sold in needy countries at sub-market prices, and under government supervision.

It is a well known fact that before the war, many countries were greatly concerned with the problem of over-production. While we heard of thousands starving in China, we saw pictures of Wisconsin farmers dumping their milk into rivers. While Europeans were grinding acorns to make a warm beverage, Brazilians were burning surplus coffee, instead of coal, in their factories.

Dumping of surplus goods was applied on a large scale, making prices tumble, ruining small farmers and creating international friction.

Even today, this economic paradox exists. While Argentina is trying to cut down its production of beef to keep up prices, Poles are rationed to ten ounces of meat a week.

Some countries, notably the United States and Great Britain, attempted to put their surplus goods to one good use. Under the "stamp" plan in this country, the government was able to offer surplus foods, such as potatoes, for example, to low-income groups of our population. In England, the government subsidized a milk plan, making cheap milk available to large numbers of women and children who before had not been able to afford sufficient

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quantities of this health sustaining food.

By this method, governments managed to satisfy a "hidden demand" for these over-produced commodities. "Hidden demand"—because the demand for more food always exists and will exist, but the money to buy this additional food is sometimes non-existent.

Such a surplus disposal plan has never been tried on an international scale. It should be tried now.

Within a very few months, we will have a considerable amount of surplus production available in the world. First, because improved production methods in countries not directly affected by the war will make possible huge crops of food-stuffs. Second, because governments throughout the world have committed themselves to a series of subsidy programs.

How can we manage to distribute such surplus supplies to needy countries, without prejudicing our own producers and without getting tangled up in a lot of import-export legalistics?

The newly established Food and Agriculture Organization provides a ready-made international clearing house for such operations.

How the plan works

Suppose, for example, the case of a famine taking on dangerous proportions in China. The news is relayed immediately to the central office of the FAO—located at the seat of the United Nations Organization. Nutrition specialists start inquiries throughout the world, looking for surplus rice stocks. Such stocks are located, with the cooperation of local authorities, in the Netherland East Indies, in Indo-China and in Burma. Available ships are loaded with quantities urgently required, and sailing under an international arrangement made possible by the FAO, rush this rice to China without paying import duties or other charges.

The countries producing the surplus rice get their money. Perhaps it is but a fraction of the market cost, but at least it is more than they would get if they just had to dump the rice into rivers, in order to maintain the overall price.

Since sales and purchases are performed without profit in actual market, by government officials, and supplies go only to the population directly threatened by famine, the general market price is not affected. Such an operation would serve the same purpose as the previous practice of "dumping" goods at half price, without having any of its economic drawbacks, but with the advantage of not destroying the "real wealth" represented by the food.

Naturally, before engaging in such international operations, it would be necessary for many countries to apply the same principles to their local population. Emulating the example of the United States and Great Britain, and perhaps going even further, nations now severely threatened by lack of strategic foods could support the low-income groups of their population through a well-organized system of production subsidies and surplus distribution.

The Quebec food conference brought out many other problems, including the present need for wide distribution of technical information to increase agricultural production throughout the world. During the war, many new processes and machines have been developed which could effectively be applied to food production, and which could put into effect the late President Roosevelt's vision of "Freedom from Want" for all peoples of the world.

Jarring Note

The only jarring note struck during the conference was Soviet Russia's refusal to sign the "Food Charter." V. A. Sergeev, Vice-Commissar of Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R., announced toward the end of the Conference that he had received instructions from his government not to sign the constitution of the FAO, but gave no official reason for this action.

In a private interview with a member of the U.S.S.R. delegation, however, I was told that "The Soviet Union today is not prepared to sign any international commitment, whose conditions it may not be able to carry out later on."

V. A. Sergeev, however, did state that the U.S.S.R. was extremely interested in the work of the conference, and before he left to return to Moscow, he instructed his staff of 24 specialists to remain in Quebec as "observers."

The Quebec Food Conference did not bring us an appreciable step further in our fight against man's prime enemy—starvation.

Comparing the enthusiasm of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco with the drab spirit of political uncertainty that reigned in Quebec, I feel that more than just a food conference is needed to put the world back on a healthy economic and political level.

Reflecting the tenseness of Big Three diplomatic relations at the top level, Quebec delegates often seemed unsure and hesitant to bind themselves to any definite course of cooperative action.

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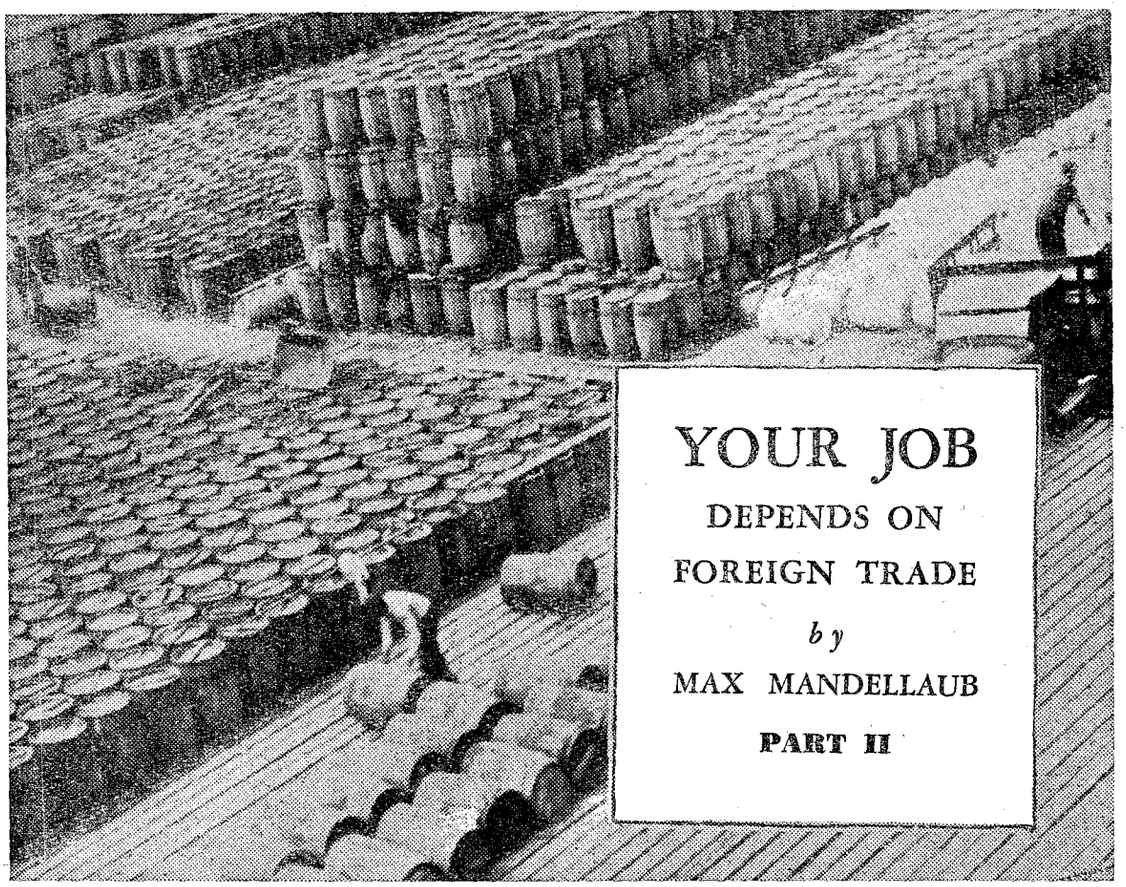

YOUR JOB DEPENDS ON FOREIGN TRADE

by

MAX MANDELLAUB

PART II

EVEN if during the immediate postwar years we cannot expect the value of imports from abroad to match that of our exports, it is self-evident that a sound foreign trade policy must be guided by a constant effort to open our domestic market to foreign goods to the same extent we ourselves desire an open market abroad. The question then arises: Will our imports reduce jobs in the same proportion that our export trade provides them?

To open our domestic market to foreign goods means renouncing to a large extent the tariff protection which in pre-war times made the imports of certain commodities prohibitive. During the inter-war period that sector of American industry which might have been in danger from foreign competition was not only relatively small but also identical with that of the lowest wage rates in the country. Some of these industries may have to ask for government aid to modernize their productive equipment in order to meet their foreign competitors. Some of them may be unable to do so and will ask for compensation of their lost investments. The shifting of the relatively small labor force from the tariff-protected sector of our business to the economically sound sphere of our trade and industry, could easily be achieved as one of the minor tasks in our full-employment program.

Only shortsighted economists believe that high tariffs cause and protect high wages. In 1940, 96 per cent of American labor was actually harmed by our protective-tariff policy and had to pay hundreds of millions of dollars a year in increased prices, whereas the remainder of 4 per cent engaged in tariff-protected industries had a standard of living far below normal. The real basis of higher wage rates is not a higher tariff but a higher degree of productivity.

In the 19th century tariffs were used to give an industrially undeveloped country protection against manufactured goods from foreign countries already at a high level of industrialization, until domestic industry advanced far enough to meet its competitors on a technically equal basis. The United States' protective tariffs of the inter-war period had no such justification. In the years ahead they would be even more of an economic anachronism.

Responsible officials in the United States

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Government are fully aware of the necessity of correcting our tariff policy. Recently Philip D. Reed, head of the American Commercial Delegation in London, commented on that subject: "Tariff reduction generally or specifically is not going to be easy, but we have come a long way in recognizing our responsibility in world trade and in realizing the necessity of increasing imports if we are to increase our exports."

The same trend is shown by the Doughton Bill, which provides for the extension and broadening of the United States program of reciprocal trade agreements. It permits the executive to make treaties under which tariffs on particular commodities might be reduced by as much as 50 per cent below the present level.

We have at last come to realize that foreign trade consists essentially of a give-and-take and that, for instance, if we expect the British to give up the Sterling Bloc, we will have to show ourselves willing to let British commodities compete on our domestic market without prohibitive tariff strings attached. We cannot be export-minded without at the same time being import-minded.

ON our policy of tariff reduction will depend the future size of our imports. A gradual decrease will make it possible to bring the dollar value of imported goods to the seven-billion mark without causing any serious imbalance on our domestic market. On the contrary, expanded imports would contribute greatly to reducing the danger of a postwar inflation.

It is true that war developments encouraged this nation's efforts toward self-sufficiency. Yet what Walter Lippmann said 13 years ago still remains true today. "The United States," he argued, "is not self-contained. If it is to become so, it must make up its mind to the fact that a considerable part of its capital investment has been misdirected, and it must prepare to write it off, to alter the occupation of millions of its inhabitants and to face a long period of extreme tension."

It cannot be denied that a higher standard of living in the United States could easily absorb an increased volume of foreign raw materials, semi-manufactures and even manufactured goods, without threatening any vital sector of our domestic production.

Yet it is fair to assume that for the next five or six years our balance of foreign trade may well show an average yearly export surplus of three to four billion dollars. Part of this gap will be closed by the so-called invisible imports, such as foreign travel, services, and interests. It is equally clear, however, that in the long run we must be ready to organize our economy in such a way that this country will be able to absorb not only raw materials from abroad but also those finished products of foreign countries which for all sorts of reasons can be produced more economically outside the United States. The flooding of our market with cheaper foreign products can be prevented if we realize that higher wage rates abroad have become an American concern as much as higher wages in the south of the United States are important to all other states of the Union.

On the other hand, higher wage rates abroad can only be achieved by raising industrial efficiency all over the world. International industrialization, properly balanced and intelligently encouraged, is ultimately of benefit to our own economy. This may be demonstrated by the example of industrial Great Britain, which was one of our most important partners in foreign trade before the war. Vice versa, industrially backward countries, as a rule, offer commercial advantages of small size and to a small group of merchants only, and even these advantages have a short life expectancy.

To make available a larger and more stable supply of dollars abroad, it is necessary that we try to avoid the mistakes which were made in our international investment program after World War I.

THE strong flow of American loans and other investments abroad after 1919 was not inspired by too much economic foresight. Disregarding repeated government warnings, the grant of one loan came to be regarded as adequate justification for further issues to the same borrower. The result was that the least solvent borrower could become the foremost candidate for our financial confidence. At the same time, our tariff policy made it impossible for many foreign debtors to honor their obligations by acquiring dollars through imports to the United States.

Our inter-war foreign-trade policy was ironically described by Dean Acheson on March 10, 1945, in a State Department radio debate: "We'll sell you goods and lend you money, but we'll be hanged if we'll allow you to pay us back."

This time we'll have to sell goods and lend money to foreign countries, and we'll be hanged if we don't allow them to pay us back. We

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shall have to resume investing abroad, but it must be done in accordance with our export and import needs, at regular rates and with reasonable assurance of thereby strengthening the economic structure and the industrial specialization of the borrowing country. Already we have virtually written off the "lend-lease" debts and there will be no need for a Johnson Act prohibiting loans to countries which did not pay the debts of World War II.

The United States Government should sponsor economic surveys abroad to advise American capital on direct investments. Each country should be encouraged in the industrial expansion for which it seems best fit and could best specialize, according to natural conditions. Direct investments, instead of loans, must become the watchword for American business. Joint participation is a more promising outlet for American capital than the risk of isolated dollar loans.

The Bretton Woods agreement has already outlined the establishment of instruments of economic stability which will avoid the international chaos of money devaluations and will spread the risk of certain money loans among all countries represented in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The Import-Export Bank will also assume a major role in financing our foreign trade and world reconstruction. The volume of prospective loans from that agency will soon reach the unprecedented figure of nearly five billion dollars, with Great Britain getting the biggest share.

World trade has passed through its age of "machine wreckers." The economic disasters of the inter-war period showed that the expansion of international transactions cannot be stopped forever by trade barriers and economic nationalism, just as in the 19th Century the Luddites could not stop England's industrialization by wrecking and burning the new machine shops.

Under a credit-investment-trading scheme the United States will be able to bring a higher degree of prosperity at home while creating conditions of prosperity abroad. We will have to realize that unemployment and a low standard of living at one point of the globe ultimately affect full employment and a high standard of living at any other point. The second handful of rice denied to a Chinese, or the second cup of polenta an Italian worker cannot afford, will be a serious threat to the loaf of bread on our own dinner table.

Nationwide AMERICAN OPINION POLL

Conducted exclusively for FREE WORLD by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, this poll represents a cross-section of general public opinion in the United States.

Getting away somewhat from our usual questions on foreign affairs, the National Opinion Research Center asked Americans to answer this question:

"In all the history of the United States, whom do you regard as two or three of the greatest men who have ever lived in this country?

And here are the results:

61%	Franklin D. Roosevelt
57%	Abraham Lincoln
44%	George Washington

Runners-up in order of their percentages, but trailing far behind these three leaders are: Thomas Edison, Woodrow Wilson, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Thomas Jefferson, General MacArthur, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Ford, Benjamin Franklin, Harry S. Truman.

Highly significant is that the leading twelve "greatest" include only one businessman (or manufacturer)—Ford, who might be classified as an inventor along with Edison and Franklin. Except for Eisenhower and MacArthur the balance are all men who made their reputations in politics and statescraft.

But even more significant is the deficiency revealed by this poll. We feel that these opinions are heavily weighted by historical propinquity without the corrective which educated judgment should provide. Roosevelt seems automatically to receive the most votes because he is closest to our personal knowledge; Lincoln has not yet faded as much as Washington —and so the percentages show. One might disagree but not really quarrel with this order. We do, however, question the judgment which names Eisenhower before Thomas Jefferson and Theodore Roosevelt.

* * *

With the cessation of hostilities and with the gradual opening up of the world to the exchange of ideas, the editors of FREE WORLD are of the opinion that the scope of our poll should be enlarged to meet the rising interest in international affairs.

We will welcome suggestions from FREE WORLD readers, especially with regard to the institution of an international poll of opinion leaders.

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WORLD TRAVEL

In previous issues this department has insisted on the necessity of developing travel as an essential means of international understanding and as one of the factors greatly contributing to world peace.

FREE WORLD has insisted particularly on the necessity of curtailing visa formalities, and we repeat herewith our suggestion:

Every citizen of the United Nations who has no criminal record and who is the bearer of a regular identification card or passport of his own country must be free to visit without visa any other country for a period of two months. It is only when he wishes to remain longer or to establish himself permanently that he should be required to have a resident or immigration visa. Only with the abolition of visa formalities, the creation of inexpensive travel facilities and the establishment of direct contacts between people will we be able to dissipate some of the terrible distrust which this war has sowed between countries and continents.

We hope that the Education Department of the United Nations organization, the various State Departments and private organizations will give attention to this problem and start an educational campaign to acquaint tourists with the basic problems of the various foreign countries which they visit so that they may avoid the many absurd mistakes which Mr. James F. Macdonald has so often observed in Mexico.

every tourist an ambassador

by JAMES F. MACDONALD

A resident of Taxco, Mexico, Mr. Macdonald is this month the guest commentator in our travel department.

IN attempting to work out a formula that will insure a lasting peace between the nations of the world, the postwar planning commissions are overlooking and neglecting one vital human factor which may greatly accelerate or retard any plans that they may formulate. I refer to the tremendous undirected power that is held in the hands of the Genus Tourist; a power that can make or break international goodwill.

Fundamentally, all human relationships are based on personal contacts. As this is true between individuals, so it is true between nations. Between nations there are four general contact classes:

1. The diplomatic circles and all government representatives.
2. The business men (including mining men and all economic commissions.)
3. The foreign resident.
4. The tourist.

By an ever increasing margin, the tourist outnumbers the sum of the other three classes. And yet, of these four contact classes, the tourist is least prepared to meet the obligation that international relationships thrust upon him.

The diplomats and government agents, by

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profession, are trained in behavior in their activities in foreign countries. The business men of necessity in a foreign country must guard their actions and build a bond of friendship with their clients. In general, the person who lives abroad for economic, climatic or personal reasons, is *simpatico* with the natives of the country in which he lives. The tourist, alone, has no guidance, nor any check on behavior, when traveling in a foreign country. Psychologically, the tourist is a small boy just freed from school. He is in a holiday mood. He is free from the restrictions and exactions of his daily humdrum life. He has no responsibilities or obligations. He is in an ebullient mood and in this humor he knows that he comes from the best country in the world and loudly broadcasts this belief without discretion. The world is his oyster.

The tourist is omni-present. The biblical locust has nothing on him. In ten days, two weeks, or three months, he can see more of a country than a native will see in all of his life. He makes an indelible impression wherever he goes. He knows the cities and small towns, the highways and byways, churches, art galleries, museums, markets, night clubs and purlieus. It is through the tourist and his actions that the majority of the people in any country contact and receive a personal impression of the people of other countries.

From whatever country they may originate, the majority of tourists are akin in their actions. They are noisy, arrogant, demanding, lacking in courtesy and critical of conditions, customs and of the people in the countries in which they are traveling. I have seen the Englishman busily making himself obnoxious to the natives in the Orient; the Germans rough-riding over the Italians; the Argentinians drawing curses from the Brazilians. Our American tourists, probably the most numerous and widely traveled of the fraternity, are right out in front when it comes to sowing seeds of ill-will and resentment among the peoples of other countries.

PLEASE follow me for a few minutes on the tourist trail and see what happens. I use an American-Mexican combination because I have lived in Mexico for the past three years and daily see certain things happen. I see them with regret, and often with humiliation. Also, the American-Mexican relationship is an excellent example to substantiate my charges. At the present time, according to diplomats, magazine articles and travel companies, all is peace and harmony between these neighboring countries. Upon the surface there has never been a period of greater friendliness and sympathetic understanding between the neighbors, but under the crust—Oh, Brother, what a smouldering feeling of resentment and active dislike! How many well-bred, educated Mexicans have been insulted and humiliated by some casual, blundering tourist. How many times I have seen an educated, English-speaking Mexican, when approached and questioned by a tourist, shrug his shoulders and say, *"No entiendo Ingles, Señor,"* turn his head and expectorate with exceeding care. The tourist is directly responsible for this feeling. Now, for the tourist trail.

The sun is high overhead in our quiet little picturesque colonial town. The housekeepers and *criadas* (servants) have long since completed their marketing and have returned to their *casas.* A few citizens, visiting *paisanos,* and a few members of the American colony awaiting the arrival of the mail are sitting on the benches in the plaza under the grateful shade of the wide spreading laurels. The occasional black-garbed woman slips into the Cathedral for prayer. An idle shopkeeper, sitting in the doorway of his *tienda* (shop), strums a guitar and sings softly some haunting old melody. All is peace and quiet. Life is good in Taxco.

Suddenly, some eight or ten large limousines come hurtling up the narrow ramp, burst into the plaza and disgorge a noisy shouting group of some thirty or forty American tourists. Gone is our peace. Gone is our quiet.

Many of the women are wearing slacks and occasionally you see scanty shorts. Either slacks or shorts for women are definitely frowned upon by the average small town conservative Mexican. The bargain hunters dash from shop to shop, buy with little discrimination, and pay the first price demanded, without hesitation. Why not? Is not everything dirt cheap because the prices are all in pesos and have they not received nearly five pesos for every good American dollar?

So, good old Myrtle, from Iowa, comes barging out of a silver shop, her eyes gleaming with triumph, and seeing her Henry on a bench some sixty feet away, shouts: "Oh, Dad, look what I got! Emma Green bought some ear-rings in Cedar Rapids not half so good as these and paid $12.50 for 'em. I bought these for only ten pesos and they are twice as good as Emma's."

Now, Myrtle was not aware of the fact that several pesos had been tacked onto the regular price of that article and that the shopkeeper

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smilingly accepting his long profit is inwardly much disgruntled because Myrtle had not observed the custom of the country and given him a real tussle in establishing the price of the ear-rings. To himself he says, "Another sucker. What fools these Americans are. They are all disgustingly rich."

In all innocence Myrtle has helped to confirm an international impression.

I AM sitting on a bench in the plaza chatting with a Mexican artist. He is a man of good family, a graduate of Harvard, and had years of art training and study on the continent. A big beefy Texan, a camera enthusiast, beaming with goodwill, places a sweaty hand on the shoulder of my friend's white shirt and says, "You *sabe* English? Me take your picture. You best looking Mex in *todo pais*. You come stand by tree. Me take your picture."

My friend tips me the wink and murmurs, *"No entiendo Ingles, Señor,"* but permits himself to be pushed around and photographed by the Texan. And he bows gravely, removes his sombrero, and solemnly accepts a fifty centavo tip with a *"Mil gracias, Mi Patron, mil gracias."* And when the Texan has departed my friend says, "And so to the *cantina,* Mac, the drinks are on me!" By nightfall that little story has made the rounds of Taxco. Another international impression has been made.

Five or six women in pursuit of culture, trip blithely into the Cathedral and through ignorance or forgetfulness, neglect to cover their heads, and so violate an age-old custom and offend the worshippers. With high heels clattering on tiled floors, and with sibilant whispers, far more penetrating than a low spoken tone, these good women scurry about, commenting on paintings and decorations, entirely oblivious to the disapproving looks of the few worshippers kneeling in prayer. And so another international impression has been established.

A Mexican guide strolls about the plaza, arm-in-arm and hand-in-hand with a fresh, lovely young American girl in her mid-teens, who is obviously flattered by his attentions. The guide smirks and tips a knowing wink to his Mexican friends as he strolls by. The girl's well-dressed, prosperous-looking father follows after them entirely unaware of the impression being made upon the conventional Taxcanian citizens. Little does he know of the unsavory reputations of these smooth, well-mannered guides. Would that father permit his daughter to make such a spectacle of herself at home with a hired attendant? Or, would the girl, young as she is, permit such familiarities? I think not. And yet another impression of the *Norteamericano* has been made.

A few men, upon leaving their cars, had made a beeline for the nearest tourist *cantina,* and in ten minutes had surrounded enough drinks to cause them to burst into loud and exceedingly sour harmony. "Hail, Hail! the gang's all here!" was their song. Other tourist groups, sitting at tables in the bar, not realizing that a number of the Mexicans present understood English, made the most cutting, derogatory remarks about Mexico and things Mexican. And how often do they preface their remarks with, "Now, back at home we——."

And so another indelible impression has been made upon the Taxcanian concerning the United States citizen.

NOW, these various impressions were made upon the minds of the Taxcanians within the course of thirty minutes. Multiply these scenes hundreds of times by various groups of tourists traveling in all parts of Mexico and you have some slight idea of the part played by the tourist in making or breaking international goodwill.

What is the answer? In the opinion of this observer, the tourist offends largely through ignorance, thoughtlessness and irresponsibility. I believe that a simple, well-directed educational campaign can change the present bungling, offensive tourist into a foreign representative of whom his country may be proud. Let every tourist be taught that in traveling abroad, he carries with him a definite responsibility and obligation to his mother country; that his demeanor and actions in foreign countries reflect directly upon his own government and aid or mutilate the relationship between the countries involved.

Let the State Departments of all nations carry on such an educational campaign by means of pamphlets, radio and lectures. During recent war years, English soldiers in the United States and American soldiers stationed in England, have been so schooled in behavior by pamphlets issued by their respective armies. If it has been found necessary by the armies to school their soldiers in behavior while stationed in foreign countries, although the men are under direct control and observation by their officers, how much more important it is for the tourist, who is under no guidance or control, to have a similar schooling.

Let every tourist become an Ambassador of Goodwill!

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THEATER

BROADWAY'S SECOND MONTH

UP to the middle of November the New York theater has offered little more than further proof that there are a good many fine actors in America and very little for them to say or do when they get on the stage. Montgomery Clift showed again in *You Touched Me!* (reviewed last month) that he is an actor of more than average capacity; Barbara Bel Geddes showed for the first time in *Deep Are the Roots* (also reviewed last month) that she is an actress with a glowing power that can lift her from the ranks of the pretty young ingenues. Dame May Whitty, as the Mother in *Therese,* proved that if you have that glow and power, it sticks with you until you are eighty.

Therese by Thomas Job (produced by Victor Payne-Jennings and Barnard Klawans at the Biltmore Theater) proved little else, however, than that the social environment which Zola built so painstakingly in his novel, *Thérèse Raquin,* to explain the causes for his *petit bourgeois* tragedy, is so integral a part of the idea that when it is inadequately carried over into a dramatization, all the cold efforts of Eva Le Gallienne and the hot efforts of Victor Jory, as the murdering lovers, and the moderating efforts of Margaret Webster, as director of the production, do not suffice to make it more than tiresome melodrama.

Beggars Are Coming to Town (produced by Oscar Serlin at the Coronet Theater) was not tiresome, but it was so pointless a melodrama that one would have been tempted to laugh, had it not been for the sincerity and force of Luther Adler's and Paul Kelly's performances as the ex-gangster pals of prohibition days, one of whom had made good as a supper club entrepreneur while the other was taking the rap to the tune of a fourteen-year stretch up the river. What point Theodore Reeves was trying to make in a play whose atmosphere was heavy with portent and that seemed on the brink of having a point at all times, constantly eluded this reviewer. That the day of gangster violence has been succeeded by an era of big business chicanery which has nothing much more to recommend it than the violence had, seems to be a conclusion neither valid nor worth writing a play to prove. But perhaps Mr. Reeves had some other conclusion in mind. As I say, it eluded me.

Again, in *The Next Half Hour,* if the day could have been saved, it would have been the actors who would have saved it. Mary Chase's successor to her *Harvey,* however, closed after a week on Broadway. There was some fine playing in it, especially by a young man named Conrad Janis, who gave an unerringly truthful performance of an adolescent; also by Jean Adair, Thelma Schnee, Art Smith. It was good, too, to see Fay Bainter again after an absence from Broadway of more than ten seasons.

But all the fine acting in the world is of no help when a play is empty of meaning. Only one play of the past month has said anything particularly worth listening to, and it closed after thirteen performances. So we cannot say that the American theater has yet quite found its postwar feet. The one play, however, was Irwin Shaw's *The Assassin.*

THE ASSASSIN produced by Carly Wharton and Martin Gabel in association with Alfred Bloomingdale, at the National Theater.

Throughout the years of German blitzkrieg and occupation of Europe, people often remarked, "Why doesn't somebody just shoot Hitler or Goering or Laval or Quisling or Streicher and get it over with?" But although lots of people on both sides of the Atlantic liked the idea, nobody did anything about it; none of the arch-villains of Europe or their principal collaborators got murdered—except one: Admiral Darlan in North Africa. In December 1942, in Algiers, a young Frenchman accomplished a successful assassination: success-

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ful, that is, in that he got his man; unsuccessful in the long run for himself in that he was executed.

The story of that assassin captured the imagination of Irwin Shaw. How the deed was accomplished, and its implications are the materials out of which he made his play. He began it in a side street *bistro* that was headquarters of the French underground in Algiers. The early scenes told how a 20-year-old patriot, whom Shaw renamed de Mauny, was drawn into the resistance movement. Then followed scenes in the office of Darlan (called Vespery by Shaw), where the devious political chicanery at work in this provincial chancellory was exposed. The nearly tragic errors of the Americans in their early dealings with the pro-German French elements were touched upon. The palace intrigue that aligned royalists against collaborationists within the French high command, and the perhaps misguided patriotism that caused de Mauny to commit his terroristic act as the agent of the royalist element, because he believed with them that the Comte de Paris could save the French day, formed the backbone of the play's action.

In a play that deals, as this one did, with recent history, there are three requisites. The play must be believable; it must have either some universal application or at least some pertinence (else why recall the historical event?); it must be theatrically effective. On two of these three counts Mr. Shaw was successful. In his theatrical craftsmanship he was least so. The play was encumbered by a love story used for more than it was worth. Throughout there was too little revelation of character through action. The resolution of plot was brief and unsatisfactory. The play concluded in a death-cell scene that had neither pathos nor power. And Martin Gabel's direction did nothing to remedy the uncertainties.

In spite of these dramaturgic ineptitudes, however, the drama was in the main believable. Furthermore, it had a great deal to say that needs to be heard in this hour. I am not sure how closely Mr. Shaw followed the historical facts, but that does not seem too important. The picture he painted of espionage and counter-espionage, of plot and counter-plot, of subterfuge and daring, of violence and dispute was a convincing mirror of the turbulent activity that accompanied the invasion of Europe and North Africa. To anyone who knew the underground, or even to anyone who heard subsequently of its exploits at first hand, Mr. Shaw's melodrama could not seem contrived or excessive. His heroes could not seem too valorous or his villains too sinister. It was like that in 1942 in Europe.

To this reviewer, the combination of melodramatic action and doctrinaire talk was as completely believable as it was necessary as an exposition of Shaw's purpose. Young Europeans in the occupied countries were wont to accompany their exploits with earnest discussion of motive and objective. To an American audience accustomed to have people act and then figure out why and toward what end they acted, this infusion of talk that seemed to slow up action was criticized as befuddled playwriting. Actually, it was completely appropriate to the characters and situation.

What is more, *The Assassin* has much to say about the world in which we live three years after the events narrated therein. Americans are still in Europe attempting to understand and deal with the complex cross-currents and undercurrents of continental political life. American diplomatists and their experts sit at conference tables striving—with less success at certain times and in certain places than we would like—to fashion ways in which Europeans can live with each other in accordance with principles to which we too can subscribe. In the chaos that continues to seethe beneath the surface of a half-accomplished world revolution, there are still Vesperys and de Maunys; and the quicker we Americans understand their nature and the nature of the struggle that continues, the more hope there is for us all.

The need for such understanding and the state of mind in which to approach it are recognized by Irwin Shaw. In an impassioned speech that Vauquin, leader of the resistance group (well played by Karl Malden), addresses to his followers while they await the youthful assassin, the keystone is sounded:

"The essential thing is quality: the quality of—well, let's be grandiose, let's call it the quality of a man's soul. Politics change. We must trust the quality of a man rather than the color of his politics. Today that's our only hope. If you would only fight beside Communists and I would only fight beside Left Republicans and young de Mauny would only fight beside monarchists, France would be dead once for all. But I believe that deep down under all the differences we are all good men and we can operate for good ends. . . . Somehow we all believe in the human race, that it deserves to live on the earth, that there is hope it will learn how to live on the earth."

NORRIS HOUGHTON

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FREE SPEECH

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

An Answer to the "Call to Action"

"The editorial by Louis Dolivet in the October issue of FREE WORLD is the most heartening 'call to action' that has come since V-J Day!

"The lack of spiritual principles and ideals in these sixty days of peace has been a shocking revelation and still we were told that the war was for the Peace, and a better world. Instead we see only the dim outline of a far worse one than we had before.

"I, for one, answer your call for world government. I know there must be millions of others. I know this can be a mighty force. I stand ready to help in any program you can submit.

"Your appeal answers a universal longing for higher aspirations, and new incentives. We are sick of material greed and power.

"There must be a re-birth, and it must be now."

JEAN W. WOLFF
San Anselmo, California.

Praise for "World Government"

"When your last issue came out to lead the struggle for World Government, I was so heartily convinced that there was nothing more important or more urgent, that I am renewing my subscription as a gesture in support of your policy. Perhaps public opinion can focus and crystallize around some publication, and you are the first I know of in this field. All power to you and to this movement!

"As San Francisco is the main port of entry for our returning men I meet a goodly number. I find that quite a few are thinking hard about our world responsibility and want what you are advocating—a World Government."

DOROTHY W. ERSKINE
San Francisco, California.

A "Doughboy's" Plea

"It has been a very pleasant surprise to find, in one of the U.S.O. in Portland, a copy of your July issue.

"As I had been connected with your organization, as secretary to Mr. Fernandez Artucio, some time ago, I was happy to see that FREE WORLD is still strong—I would say still stronger in this common struggle—apparently finished now, but so unfinished in phases that are the very bases of future peace.

"Ever since I came into the Army I tried to make my buddies see the importance of knowing what's going on, everyday, always. I've been very unsuccessful so far. Political consciousness seems to be lacking in the busy mind of the 'roughed doughboy,' as we are called all over the place. . .

". . . The problem now is at its peak. Everybody wants to get out of the Army, without realizing how important the occupation duties are in order to carry out our pledges in international cooperation.

"I wonder, too, if with the permission of the War Department it would be possible to have lecturers tour Ports of Embarkation to give an idea of why we are going across when the war is over and what the nation expects from us. This is certainly 'Greek' to some of the people in my 'bunch.'"

JOSEPH VITY
Camp Adair, Oregon.

A Cynical Viewpoint

"I have been uncertain whether to renew or not. Your 'State of the World' is good, and so are most of the factual articles. However, your writers are mostly the 'liberal' type, and you know a liberal is willing to do almost anything for the common man but get off his back. Their pious abstractions sound very well, but they all belong to the 'privileged' class, and I suspect any concrete deed to help the common people would bring a loud chorus of 'Totalitarianism!'

"Their idea of 'freedom' is freedom for their class. However, I'll take a chance and enclose an order for $4.00."

CHAS. H. VOORHIS
Granite Falls, Wash.

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More Praise for World Government

"I am writing to congratulate you on your editorials on World Federation in the September and October issues of FREE WORLD."

WALLACE T. PARTCH, MD.
Oakland, California.

Let's Have Music

"Congratulations on your decision to 'give more attention to the arts.' It seems to me that music, perhaps even more than the theater, deserves your attention.

"I for one should also like to see coverage of international chess news and developments, a subject only too deplorably neglected by most American publications."

ROGER LEEFE
Chicago, Ill.

Voice of the People

"May I endorse the frequent statements made in your magazine to its readers that they have a distinct obligation to advise their representatives of their considered opinions on controversial subjects before those subjects are beyond argument. I have done this for some time and shall continue to urge my fellow officers of their obligations in this regard."

MAJOR ROBERT HAMMOND
Maxwell Field, Ala.

Is War Inevitable?

"I do not believe future wars are less likely because the atomic bomb is a fact. Weapons are the instruments of war and their increasing frightfulness and effectiveness have not tended to prevent wars or once started, to shorten them. We used the atomic bomb twice after we knew by all rules of military logic that Japan was decisively licked.

"World War II was longer than World War I despite the phenomenal development of air warfare, the submarine, the tank and the radio. The march of science augments the horror and toll in human life and property; it does not destroy the predisposing factors that cause war.

"Revolutionary increase in fighting power is not novel to our age. It did not make wars less likely.

"War will be impossible when free men will live in a free world, when every parent will take out war insurance for his children, when fathers and mothers today will realize that their teen-age sons and daughters may ten or fifteen years from now be the soldiers and sailors destined to kill or be killed in a third world conflagration. Wars will be less likely if people will regard their distant and unseen fellows with the same interest and loyalty as they do their own relatives and friends; if they resist war-weariness and remain constantly alert against reaction, fascism and warmongering; if they work for peace enthusiastically, frantically and constantly.

"Otherwise even atom bombs are likely to become bigger and deadlier."

NATHAN KOBRIN
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Tasmanian Peace Festival

"We, the people of the United Nations. . . ."

In this spirit Tasmania, the little Switzerland of the South Pacific, celebrated the second week of October as International Week with pageantry and music, FREE WORLD is informed by the United Nations Association in Tasmania.

While riots flared in Palestine and statesmen bandied words in London, Tasmanian school children danced and sang for the visiting dignitaries of Asia, Europe and the Americas.

In celebration of the first "Festival of Nations" provincial authorities and private organizations are cooperating. They plan to make International Week an annual event in the hope that this will help to mobilize world public opinion for peace.

Progress

"I read each new number of FREE WORLD with a fresh delight at the astonishing variety and quality of the articles and material that you are able to gather. The November number is a particular success and your article on the theater in France and England is notably interesting."

WILLIAM EMERSON
Boston, Mass.

A Soldier Speaks

"Activity here in Bavaria is very disheartening. Perhaps now with Patton gone, we'll fight the real war effectively, and not from a strictly professional soldier's aspect—unaware of the more dangerous struggle of politics.

"These people are politically conscious. . . . The American G.I. is in a political vacuum . . . and his lack of political training is evidenced by bad management, with 1,300 food riots in one week, Nazis still in positions of importance . . . open defiance of moral laws, etc.

"Minor incidents indicate a feeling of 'The war's over, let's forget—saw some gorgeous Kraut dames in town today—beer's fine—when the hell am I going home—leave Europe to the Europeans—I hate 'Reds,' 'Frenchies'—the Krauts are cleaner and nicer, etc.'

"I shiver with fright that so few of us have learned our lesson.

"If war comes again, the master technicians will be scientists, not generals, and one battle more or less will not make any difference, and yet we almost proclaim our failure to make a lasting peace by discussing sizes of armies, etc.

"Let us clean house at home first—in the same way. Let us eliminate causes for armies. It's a large order, but so is life, and we've wasted enough."

LEON R. COHEN
APO 360, c/o PM., N. Y.

From England

"You have a very important article on World Government vs. National Sovereignty in the October issue of FREE WORLD. I find myself in much agreement with what you describe as this one-point programme.

* *

"I do hope your article on World Government will be followed by a consideration of the steps we can now take toward giving a direction in the development of this great ideal."

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS
London, England.

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BOOKS

Bertrand Russell as Historian of Philosophy

A HISTORY OF WESTERN PHILOSOPHY: Its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, by Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster, 895 *pages* $5.00

IT is hardly possible to do justice to this exceptionally witty, penetrating and voluminous book by one of the greatest philosophers of our day in the space of a brief notice. I shall therefore confine my remarks to what I take to be its two most important aspects--intent and message.

As Russell himself points out, it is not meant to be another of the usual histories of philosophy. "My purpose," he says, "is to exhibit philosophy as an integral part of social and political life: not as the isolated speculations of remarkable individuals, but as both an effect and a cause of the character of the various communities in which different systems flourished." Consequently it is not intended as a layman's introduction to the great philosophers, though it will no doubt be read widely as such.

The aim is high. To accomplish it in even a partial manner is an achievement not to be despised. And there is no doubt that in many instances Russell has succeeded in giving an illuminating picture of the place of men's ideas in the culture of their time. The chapters on the Hellenistic world and its philosophies of weariness and despair, or again those on the romantic movement, Rousseau and Byron, are examples. Nevertheless some of the more philosophically important ideas are left in their naked logical innocence.

In the context of a discussion of historical materialism he argues that Marx was wrong on two counts, first in emphasizing only the economic form of power, and second in not realizing that with respect to ideas "social causation largely ceases to apply as soon as a problem becomes detailed and technical." The reason he offers for this second criticism, which is of interest here, is that when a problem becomes detailed and technical its solution can be determined independently of the social system or of the philosopher's temperament. Conventional philosophy, he points out, consists of two elements, one scientific or logical, the other practical, extra-logical. Social factors affect mainly the latter, which has to do with matters like war, law, political forms, religion, ethical values, on which we are forced to decide but on which "pure reason is silent."

But scientific and logical questions can be dealt with by generally agreed upon methods. Hence, though our beliefs on logical and scientific questions can be controlled by neutral methods, our beliefs on questions involving value cannot.

This view of Russell's makes clear the manner in which his book is written. Where a philosophy incorporates elements of value decisions, Russell avails himself of the opportunity to consider at length social backgrounds and consequences. There is, perhaps, too little economics in the treatment, but the comments are always interesting and valuable. Sometimes, when questions amenable to logical or scientific treatment can be rather directly connected with questions of value, as in the case of theological controversies in early Christian and medieval times, connection is made between their treatment and social facts. But more often theoretical ideas and methods are treated as such from the viewpoint of their truth or adequacy. This is especially so when the discussion turns to questions of metaphysics.

If I am right in this analysis of Russell's method, it seems to argue a certain confusion. The purpose of the book is primarily to disclose the place of philosophical ideas in the social context. But the fact that the validity of an idea can be determined by logic or scientific method does not therefore isolate it from social facts. How far the development of logical and scientific ideas is immanent and how far it is existentially determined is not, at least not only, a matter of their amenability to neutral method. My impression is, therefore, that in the pursuit of his aim Russell has neglected *on principle* a most important task--that of investigating the existential connections of some of the most central philosophical ideas. Perhaps it is understandable in these terms why Russell devotes only two paragraphs to Aristotle's distinction between potentiality and actuality and why he decides to summarize Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* as being more important than the *Summa Theologica.* I do not mean to say that he does not sometimes take up the question. His attempted treatment of John Dewey's instrumentalism as the expression of the age of industrialism and collec-

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tive enterprise and as an example of the "intoxication of power" which is the "greatest danger of our time" and to which instrumentalism unwittingly contributes—although based on a radical misunderstanding of what Dewey is about—is a case in point. What should have been done in accord with the book's intention has been left partly undone.

The book has a message. The message is that liberalism, a mature and sober liberalism, is the only hope of the contemporary world. The great problem which faces men in all ages is that of accomplishing a synthesis of social cohesion and individual freedom which will steer the narrow course between ossification, despotism, tyranny, based on a system of dogma, and dissolution and anarchy which lead only to new tyranny. Civilizations tend to oscillate between these two extremes, and the "doctrine of liberalism is an attempt to escape from this endless oscillation."

Throughout the book Russell draws lessons from the history of ideas and culture in relation to this point. And throughout he shows himself the staunch defender of democratically organized freedom. Yet, just as in the carrying out of the intent, so in the delivery of the message, the way in which Russell approaches it is characterized by his separation of logical-scientific from value problems. Modern thought differs from medieval primarily in the fact that the authority of science tends to replace that of the Church. This means a transition from an authority which is governmental, dogmatic and all-encompassing to one which is intellectual, tentative and piecemeal. Connected with this transition is the growth of subjectivism and individualism which, in extreme form, become madness, as in Rousseau and anarchism. Scientific technique tends to oppose this subjectivity because of its cooperative nature. But, being ethically neutral, it enhances our power and sense of power and thus, in its own way, leads to a madness more dangerous still.

That there is much truth in Russell's diagnosis is evident from the modern world's misuse of technology in peace and war. The atomic bomb serves only to point up the danger, spiritual as well as physical. But how can philosophy, or man himself thinking, formulate sane political ethics if science and value are as separate as Russell suggests? To this question contemporary instrumentalism has attempted to provide an answer, namely, that political and ethical ideas are hypotheses and instruments to be tested by their consequences in stabilizing and liberating human social relations and experiences of value. Not one emotion pitted ultimately against another, incarnate in men against men, but value experiences ordered, deepened, assured, communicated, democratically shared, by fuller use of experimental method—this is the path which instrumentalism opens for us.

It is difficult to understand why Russell, with all his scientific temper of mind and concern for the future of free society, should not find it possible to understand the American expression of that temper.

ALBERT HOFSTADTER

Turmoil in Europe

EUROPE IN REVOLUTION, by John Scott. Houghton Mifflin Company. 265 pages. $3.00

Mr. Scott, with a background of eight years of industrial and journalistic work in the Soviet Union, has been from 1943 to 1945, surveying the European theater from an advantageous press box in Sweden and Finland. His book is a thesis or, better, a series of propositions, which may be summarized as follows:

A social revolution has been going on since early in the Twentieth Century, the Russian and German Revolutions being parts of a larger movement. The War of 1939 has enormously accelerated a process already going on, and has carried revolution farther afield, so that the status of money and property, and in many cases labor itself, is no longer at all what it was. The war has also swept the first revolutionary nation, Russia, into a foremost position in Europe and Asia.

Our author now lays down a series of propositions stemming from his original thesis that we are in the midst of revolution: (a) A world government is the best solution by far, but is not one that at present will be adopted; the San Francisco alternative then must be worked on and developed. (b) Germany must be kept from springing back again, not crushed but dealt with firmly and definitely, and this policy can be realized only with harmonious relations between the Great Powers. (c) The Soviet Union, potentially the greatest power in the world, will actually be that by 1970, but is not necessarily aggressive and genuinely desires peace and collaboration. (d) Great Britain, reacting intelligently to a huge crisis, is able to recognize the need of new ways and is adjusting herself with extraordinary flexibility. (e) The United States, always lacking a definite foreign policy vis à vis Europe, may no longer be isolationist, but a dangerous Anti-Soviet attitude is growing. What is the alternative to friendship with Russia? At best, a long dreary war whose very winning will be disaster. (f) We *can* get on with Russia, learning to know her better; not knuckling under, but pressing our point of view strongly and frankly. (g) Capitalism, modified by the events of the past thirty years, socialism, modified also by experience since 1917, can interact on each other, each beneficially on the other. The result may be something of both; that is the alternative to a suicidal conflict between the two.

Here and there Mr. Scott leaves a color out of his palette that is needed in the picture. In 1918 Russia hardly pulled herself out of her difficulties; the defeat of Germany in the West and American policy in Eastern Asia rescued her. The contrast between living conditions in Russia and Finland was obvious before the war as well as after. Certain widely held opinions are stated as facts. It is fairly clear that Great Britain and France would have been delighted to watch a Soviet-German war, but it is another thing to say that they strove to pro-

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voke it. Actually, Soviet Russia gave the signal for the war against the West. On page 68 Mr. Scott states that the Franco-British delegation to Moscow in 1939 was instructed to mark time; if there is evidence for so surprising a statement it should be given. The analogy drawn on page 74 between British relations with Ireland, or American relations with Argentina, on the one hand, and Russian with Poland does not bear scrutiny, for Ireland's government is surely not of Britain's choosing, nor are we dominating the Argentine.

In criticizing these one-sided expressions the reviewer in no way dissents from any one of Mr. Scott's propositions. He agrees thoroughly with the argument that the United States should support only those governments that enjoy popular support. We should learn to get along with the Russians and we should present our point of view frankly and outspokenly. Mr. Scott, in a book that is throughout well written, with at times brilliant phrasing and use of analogy, points consistently and sanely in the right direction even though the manuscript left his hands before the German surrender and before Russian policy in Eastern Europe became as disturbing as it has since. Here is a book that Americans will profit from; let us hope that Mr. Scott will now write in Russian a book that advocates the same thesis and brings the need of understanding America before the Russian public.

ALXANDER BALTZLY

Christmas Interlude

MAQUISARD—A Christmas Tale, by Albert J. Guerard. Alfred A. Knopf. 165 *pp.* $2.00

This is a Christmas tale, in the sense meant by a person of perception who knows her way around Washington and who recently said: "When you went to the White House during the Roosevelts' time, it was always Christmas. Now, it is just Thursday."

Lt. Colvin, the young American who had arrived by parachute in 1943 for attachment to the Ruc Brigade of the Maquis, knew, as he left the little room at the inn, "that this last impression would in a way be false. Life rarely offered one such an opportunity to bow out of it at the height of a Christmas mood.

Since Lt. Colvin knew this, and since his kinship to Staff Sergeant Guerard, the author of the tale, is probably not too far removed, the scenes of union and reunion which give the book its candlelit warmth combine with a record of many things that were—and are—true on Thursday, on the fifty-odd gray and often cold Thursdays that precede and follow an occasion.

In December, 1944, news spreads that after its years in the Maquis, the Brigade, which is currently containing a coastal pocket of Germans, is being relieved. With sardonic wistfulness, its members watch the arrival of regular troops equipped with the power of decision—materiel. (Was what they had done then so little?)

Their time is over. Some of them will be mustered out to go home; others incorporated in the regular army. Neither way of life is one that they are any longer fit for; their contempt for the civilian has had the curious effect of turning a movement founded on faith in the common man into an elite; they are skilled in the art of a certain kind of war, but at a review ceremony they would not know which way to turn. And they are tired, very tired.

The Christmas tale deals with the few days' interval between notice of the relief and the swift recall of the relieving divisions—to stem the Nazi onslaught in the Battle of the Bulge—which puts the Brigade back into the lines again.

Two comparisons are obvious. "Les Amants d'Avignon," this year's Prix Goncourt collection of short novels of the resistance, likewise depends, in the tale which gives the book its title, on an exquisite interval in the midst of cold and torture, when death is probable and life will be uncertain after the probability of death is over. Nor can one read it without remembering the recurrent dream of "Verdun"—what to do after the demobilization if all one knows is war.

The sensitivity—and the compression—of "Maquisard," combined with the story, should do a good deal to carry to Americans an understanding of the crisis which those who were of the best and still are alive—currently suffer: To return from the monastic asceticism of the resistance and embody, in the world, the values which gave that ascetism its basis.

HELEN HILL MILLER

For Musicians:

A prize of $1,000 will be awarded in September 1946, to the contestant showing the highest musical attainments in the presentation of a specified program of piano compositions by Claude Debussy, according to an announcement of the E. Robert Schmitz School of Piano, at San Francisco, California. The prize is the donation of Mrs. William Pflugfelder of Garden City, Long Island.

The contest will be open to pianists of all nationalities, regardless of race, color, religion, training and age. Preliminaries will be held in May 1946, throughout the United States, Canada and Mexico, and the final contest will take place the first week of September 1946, in San Francisco, California.

Inquiries regarding program, etc., may be sent directly to Secretary, The Debussy Prize for Pianists, 3508 Clay Street, San Francisco 18, California.

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Attack on Zionism

THE JEWISH DILEMMA, By Elmer Berger, Devin-Adair Co., New York. 257 pages, $3.00

A militant young rabbi in New York has thrown into the world debate on Palestine a challenge to the whole concept of Jewish nationhood and the existence of a "Jewish people." His devastating attack on the Zionist solution of "homelessness" proceeds from the assumption that Jews are not a separate people incapable of complete integration in any country where they may live. To contend that they are incapable of being integrated, he holds, admits the whole case for the anti-Semites. In the fight against anti-Semitism the Jews adhering to the national concept are "licked before they start." Zionism, he says, is a "philosophy of despair."

Rabbi Berger presents a wealth of evidence to support his thesis that emancipation within any nation and complete integration is the natural and desirable road to take. He rejects any other as stemming from the traditions of the mediaeval ghetto and its survivals. He cites Russia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as examples of wholly satisfactory solutions in Europe, and the United States as the best of them all. Palestine is acceptable to him for those who may wish to settle there as they might anywhere else, but not as a national Jewish homeland, backed by a concept of nationhood and a people separate from all others. His whole case is summed up in a few lines:

"The proponents of emancipation believe that Jews are stronger when they labor as Americans or Britons or Frenchmen of Jewish faith than they would be as separate and segregated parts of what must inevitably be a tiny 'Jewish people.' This is 'One World,' and the fight to make that world free transcends boundaries and national groups. That is the same fight that will free all Jews, everywhere." To American Jews, he holds, the United States is their Palestine. But he deplores the fact that American Jews, moved by the plight of their fellow-religionists in Central Europe, "limp between two worlds," not knowing for what ultimate object they defend Jews, a separate nationhood or integration in all nations. That is the "Jewish Dilemma."

Rabbi Berger writes not only out of his own convictions but for the principles expressed by the American Council on Judaism formed in 1943 to promote the concept of integration. As its executive director he dedicates his book to the Council's chairman, Lessing Rosenwald, and therefore it may be regarded as the official expression of a very considerable and influential section of American Jewry.

Like the Council, the book will be bitterly assailed by what Rabbi Berger calls the monopolists in control of the major Jewish organizations, the professional Zionists and even the appeasers of Zionism. To a non-Jew the arguments make sense, particularly as the book is written with a convincing wealth of historical documentation and, despite its plain-spoken convictions, without bitterness or personal emotion. In the midst of such strife as Palestine has now aroused, Rabbi Berger offers no quick solution nor any practical answer as to world policy. But his emphasis is all in the direction of reinforcing those who are trying to make forceful and creative the new international machinery of democracy.

One wonders a bit in reflecting on the solution in Soviet Russia whether Rabbi Berger has made a fair appraisal of what he calls the Soviet integration of the Jews. For in Russia both solutions have been adopted and both work. The Jews are accepted, as are the other hundred or more peoples of differing origins as integral to Soviet life, but they also have a separate republic of their own for those who prefer to live among their co-religionists. One gathers that Rabbi Berger might so conceive Palestine in a world of democratic opportunities where choice is free, but not as a sovereign Jewish state. The dual answer suggests, not compromise, but what may well be the course of the future unless political Zionism blocks integration.

The clean-cut fairness of a discussion so well supported by evidence deserves a wide audience among all who seek to grasp both the desirable and likely direction of one of the most acute political and social problem of the postwar world.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

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Strachey on Socialism

SOCIALISM LOOKS FORWARD, John Strachey, Philosophical Library, 153 pages, $2.00

It is the laudable practice of the reviewers of children's books to try out their volumes on youngsters of 6, 9, or 13 years of age. This tests the range as well as the appeal of the works to be judged. In the absence of assorted teen-agers, I could not put John Strachey's essay on Socialism to a similar trial. It is a pity. I feel sure that what seems to me the too, too sustained brightness of its style would appeal to the juvenile mind at some stage in its development.

Every point in the analysis which Socialists have been dealing out from rostrum and soap-box for a century is here put into its place with the precision of a mathematical demonstration. The capitalist system—wages, profits, exploitation, depressions, imperialism, war, fascism—is all neatly set forth.

All the questions of supercilious listeners are answered in first-class style. From matters of incentive and human nature down to adjustment of wages and who will do the dirty work—not one stupid interrogation fails to draw a snappy reply.

The curiously utopian quality of the whole crystalline exposition reaches its climax in the last chapter. The author has let drop the notion that Russia is the only Socialist country, that there is nothing bearing any tint of Socialism in Britain, Australia or New Zealand, that what we have in these backward places is nothing more than "halfway-house reforms." Socialism is some fairyland into which we are to enter like Alice going through the looking-glass. Then rises the horrendous question as to whether the 4,000,000 capitalists of Britain will fight to protect their golden gains. The question is answered as it would have been by a Hyde Park soap-boxer thirty years ago.

Perhaps my impatience is partly due to unfortunate timing. I read this bright little volume after the Labor Government had taken over the Bank of England and was moving swiftly toward public possession of the mines and power systems. Dapper and adroit as it is, the whole argument seems dated.

WILLIAM E. BOHN

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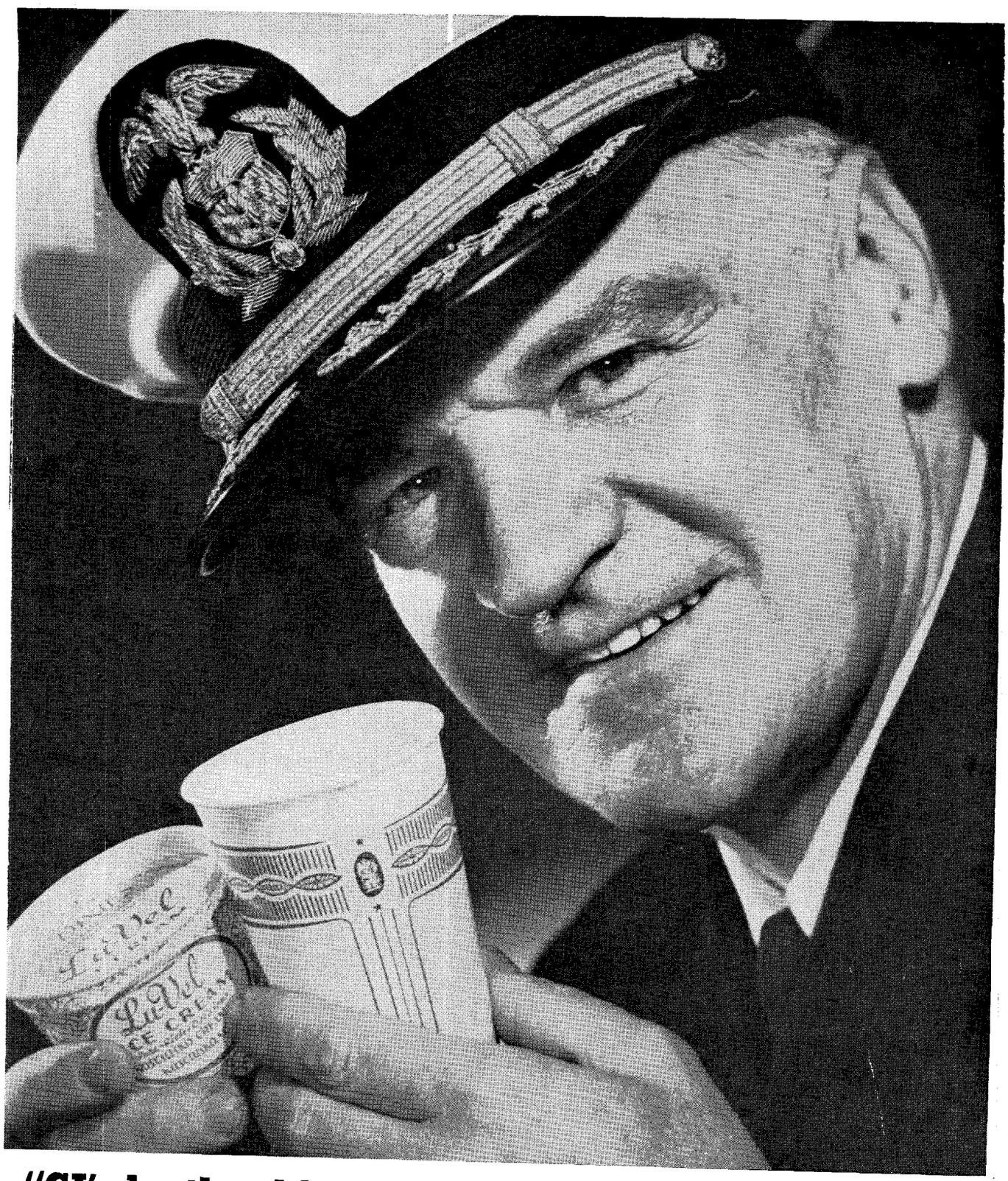

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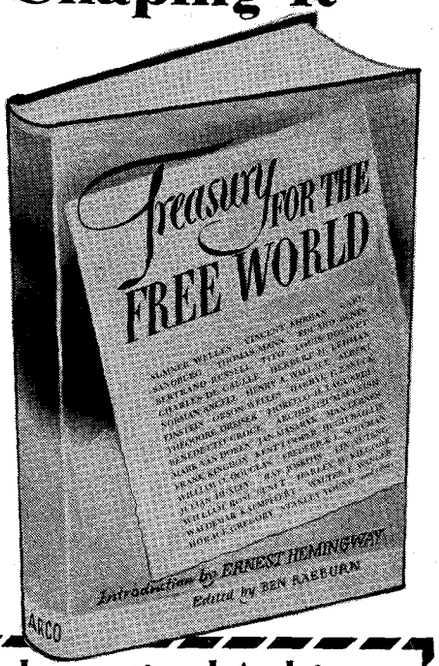

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